The Christian East

ORTHODOX GIFT TO ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL.

ON Wednesday, August 18th, an interesting gift was presented to St. David's Cathedral in the name of the Eastern Orthodox prelates as a memento of their visit to the shrine of St. David during the Nicæan commemoration of July, 1925.

The Dean of the Cathedral celebrated the Eucharist in the ancient chapel of the Holy Trinity where repose the bones of St. David. Mattins followed in the Choir, and, at the close of this office, the Dean went to the High Altar and received the gift of the Reliquary, which was formally presented by the Rev. F. N. Heazell, Secretary of the Archbishop's Eastern Churches Committee. During the morning of the same day the Dean gave a short account of the history of the relics of St. David to a number of friends who had gathered in the Nave. He said that the bones of St. David were buried in the Cathedral some thirteen hundred years ago. It is known that three kings paid homage to St. David by visiting his shrine, viz., William I. in 1081, Henry II. on his way to Ireland in 1171, and again on his return journey in 1173, and by Edward I. and Queen Eleanor in 1284, and it is certain that the relics of St. David were in the Cathedral when Henry II. made his pilgrimage there.

History has taught us that, though the first three churches that were built by St. David, and his successors, were either burnt down or destroyed by the Danes and other pagan enemies, the remains of the great Welsh saint were always respected owing to the great veneration in which he was always held by the people of the country.

A remarkable robbery of the shrine is recorded as having taken place in 1086, when all the ornaments in the coffin were carried off, but the relics were left unmolested. Mr. Richard John King in his work on Welsh Cathedrals had stated that a remarkable discovery was made at the restoration (1866-1871) of the Cathedral by Sir Gilbert Scott, who found a recess behind the High Altar, within Bishop Vaughan's Chapel, which was at that time blocked by masonry. Thinking this recess was a doorway, Sir Gilbert Scott had it opened and to his surprise found human bones secreted there. In 1920, the Dean of St. David's, with the help of experts, had a

further examination of the spot made, and discovered the oak chest containing the bones. This is now preserved in Bishop Vaughan's Chapel.

The reliquary presented to the Cathedral is of a *Noah's Ark* shape. The sides and ends are formed of copper plates covered with rich enamels of Byzantine workmanship in the style of the thirteenth century. On the front, in the upper tier, there is a figure of Our Lord in glory, supported by two angels; below, there is a crucifix with St. Mary and St. John, and two figures representing the Law and the Prophets. On the back there are two tiers, with three angels in each tier, probably of later workmanship. On the base of the ancient casket now runs this inscription:—Hanc Capsellam d.d. in honorem Sti. David Peregrini ab oriente MCMXXV Ossa quasi herba germinabunt.

Later in the day a fragment of the bones of St. David was placed in the Reliquary and sealed by the Bishop of the diocese. The unique interest attached to the gift lies not only in the antiquity of the gift itself, but also in the fact that it comes from prelates of the Eastern Orthodox Church, with whom the Anglican Church has established very cordial relations during the past few years.

THE ORTHODOX PATRIARCHATE OF JERUSALEM.

By Canon J. A. Douglas, Ph.D.

Report of Commission appointed by the Government of Palestine to inquire and report upon certain controversies between the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem and the Arab Orthodox Community, by the Commissioners, Sir Anton Bertram, Chief Justice of Ceylon, sometime Puisne Judge of the Supreme Financial Adviser to the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem, and previously Chief Inspector under the Ministry of Interior, Egypt. —Oxford Press, 1926; 12/6.

A SUMMARY of this Report having appeared in the *Church Times* of November 12th last, I was privileged by the courtesy of the Editor to comment over my own signature upon a certain aspect of it. In fact, I had written a short article for this issue of the *Christian East*, quoting that summary and my comment in full, as also stating some of the reasons for which I venture to regard the Commission's having taken the spirituality of the Patriarchate into its purview as no small mistake. Although that article is in type, certain representations made to me have caused me to withhold it and to print only these notes, which I had written in support of my article, upon the Function of the Five Patriarchates in Orthodox Polity and upon the Special Nature of the Jerusalem Patriarchate. The complete exposition of the Jerusalem problem, as I imagine it to present itself to the Orthodox, would require similar notes on the Constitution of the Patriarchate, the "Greek Nationality" of the Fraternity, the "Arab Nationality" of its Flock, and other relevant matters.

THE SPECIAL CHARACTER OF THE JERUSALEM PATRIARCHATE.

It is easy to perceive why the Council of Chalcedon added Constantinople to the Patriarchal College in 451.

When the Council of Nicæa recognized the division of the *Oikoumene* into the three supreme jurisdictions of Rome, Alexandria and Antioch, it did so because those three cities stood by themselves in the category of supra-capitals of the Oikoumene and each in its own division had possessed supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction *de facto* from time immemorial.

In like manner, Constantinople had become both a fourth supra-capital of the Oikoumene and the factual ecclesiastical supra-metropolis of the lands over which the fourth Council declared her supra-jurisdiction before 451 A.D., so that what the 28th Canon of that Council did was simply to regularize an already incipient adjustment, which was necessitated by the march of history. The facts which led to Jerusalem being conjoined as a Patriarchate with the four great supra-capitals of the Empire of that period are of a different category. Their Patriarchal thrones had not been set up *ab initio* to exercise supra-jurisdiction. On the contrary, as the Patriarchal system had evolved, a single throne had, in the first instance, been vested with the metropolitical function over the dioceses of its province, and next with supra-metropolitical jurisdiction over a group of provinces. Accordingly, before 451, the existing Patriarchs were supra-metropolitans, because they were: (1) bishops of the sees of the supra-capitals of Christendom; and (2) metropolitans of the immediate provinces of those supra-capitals. Their supra-jurisdictions were over macrocosms, and were over other great, though subordinate, supra-jurisdictions. Such considerations were altogether deficient in the case of Jerusalem. In 451, its bishop's supra-jurisdiction was subordinate and a microcosm, being in the Patriarchal jurisdiction of Antioch,[1] and having for its area a territory which was relatively quite unimportant in area, population, and cultural significance.
should have been conjoined with Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch must have been unthinkable except for the Holy Places.

That, without being the supra-capital even of a microcosm, it should have been conjoined with Rome, Constantinople, Alexan-

[1] After Hadrian had rebuilt Jerusalem—he named his new city Ælia Capitolina—Cæsarea remained the capital of Palestine. So under the heathen Emperors the bishop of Jerusalem was subordinate to the bishop of Cæsarea, who had the Patriarch of Antioch as his supra-metropolitan. Heathendom having become Christendom, that arrangement was ended in 325 by the Canon of Nicæa which apparently, while preserving the rights of Antioch in theory, made Jerusalem what is nowadays known as autocephalous. By degrees, during the 126 years between the First and Fourth Councils, Jerusalem acquired if not jurisdiction, at least the pretension to it over the "Three Palestines," i.e., Palestine, Phœnicia and "Arabia." This jurisdiction, though pressed for on its behalf by the Emperor, was not regularized at the Third Council, Ephesus (432). The "Three Palestines" form the present jurisdiction of the Patriarchate.

dria and Antioch must have been unthinkable except for the Holy Places.

Before the fourth century pilgrimages from all parts of the world to Jerusalem, which had always been the centre of Christian imagination, had become frequent, and the Conversion of the Empire by Constantine from Heathendom to Christendom must in any case have stimulated the practice vastly. The incentive of the supreme sanctity of the Holy City would in itself have been sufficient to have drawn the Empress Helena on her famous pilgrimage to it in 326 and would have caused it to be the central goal of all pilgrimages for Christendom. But in sending his mother to identify the Holy Places of the Passion and to search for its instruments, Constantine's statesmanship marched with natural piety. The Œcumenic Empire of Rome had been transformed from Heathendom to Christendom, and its Emperor had become Christ's vicegerent, but no consciousness of solidarity permeated its peoples and races. To weld its different cultures and nationalities into an unity, his essential need was to invest them with supra-racial patriotism to the Œcumenic Empire as Christendom and with common loyalty to himself as Christ's vicegerent.

For that end symbolism was the altogether indispensable dynamic. The heathen Empire had been the possessor of an elaborate apparatus of heathen symbolism which expressed its genius and claims in a fashion. Constantine's first need was to replace that apparatus by an even more elaborate apparatus of Christian symbolism. If he could do that, then the peoples of his Empire would realize that it had been reborn as Christendom and would recognize alike its genius, their character as its members and his character as its vicegerent.

In other words, among the Christian symbols with which he equipped and made " visible " his Œcumenic Empire, he had to provide it with symbolic centres which might become the cynosures of the Christian world.

Within two years of his gaining the mastery of the Empire by the defeat of Licinius, he had established three such centres. Ultimately, as has been said, everything in Modern Europe derives from the rebirth of the Ancient world under Constantine; it is so because in that rebirth the Roman Empire became Christendom and as such realized the principle of Œcumenicity, i.e., of being a single all-embracing, divinely ordained and divinely governed, eternal state. That it did so was due largely to the holding of the Œcumenical Councils, and especially the first of them, the Council of Nicæa, the significance of which rests far less in its dogmatic precisions or in its canons than in its having met at all. Before the assembly, at the summons of Constantine, in 325, in the City of the Creed, by the Ascanian Lake, of the 318 Fathers of the First General Council of the Church, Christendom had been Catholic, i.e., in solidarity of

faith and love, but as an organization it had been a diversity. The mere convention of an Œcumenical Council, the meeting together of the representatives of the totality of the Christian episcopate from the Atlantic to Mesopotamia at the summons of the Emperor, was a visible sign that henceforward the Kingdom of the Christ had absorbed the Kingdom of the World. To describe the Church which had previously accepted the heathen Cæsar's right to wield the sword temporal over all men, as now rendering him the sword spiritual over herself is misleading: for Church and State had become none other than bilateral aspects of an indivisible monism, through the whole system and life of which the Cæsar was vested with the bilateral function of seeing that the one immutable divine law and order first delivered to the former ran and obtained.[1] That theory of the Œcumenical Empire was the formative principle in the production of the political system, temporal and spiritual of mediæval Christendom, from which, though since the Renaissance new theories of the State no less than of the Church have made the old an anachronism, the political system of modern civilization has been evolved. The Western half of Europe was submerged, indeed, by the barbarous invasions of the 5th century and, though the system of Œcumenical Christendom was strong enough to persist through that deluge, when it emerged its structure had been altered materially.

In the East, however, except for insensible modifications which tended to centralization and by which the Cæsar's function as its central symbol was intensified, the Œcumenic Empire remained unchanged in theory and fabric, until its final subjugation by Islam in 1453.

That it did so was due to the fact that those of its subjects who, to preserve their cultural and racial conditions, did not break away from it, had become conscious of their membership in it, whatever their race or culture, and that it had grown for them to be part of the natural order of the Universe, a theocracy mediated through the Emperor and the Hierarchy.

Every young student is familiarized with the importance of the Œcumenical Councils in the sphere of Theology, but few are taught to estimate the fact that *per se* their being held had much the same unifying effect upon the Œcumenic Empire as *per se* the existence of a Parliament has in making a nation realize its solidarity.

If the convention of the First Œcumenical Council was the first symbolic means devised by Constantine to create the concept of Œcumenicity in the minds of his subjects, it would not have been

[1] Nicæa was always held in reverence by the Emperors as a minor symbolic city. When I was last in it in 1912, it still possessed a Christian Community and a remarkable Church, that of the Koimesis. The former was massacred by the Kemalist hordes obscenely in 1920 and, according to my friend, Mr. Borough and others who have since visited the desolate city, the burnt-out, plundered shell of the latter is slowly being covered with earth and vegetation by kindly nature.

sufficient in itself. But at the same time he equipped the Œcumenic Empire with two permanent centres which became real symbols of Christendom. The one was Constantinople and the other Jerusalem.

In founding—probably in 326—the former, there can be no question but that he designed it to be another Rome—an Eastern extension of the Old Rome which, in that age of symbols, had come to be regarded not as a mere city but as the sacrosanct symbol and eternal metropolis of the ideal world-wide and eternal Empire. It has always been known by his name, but it was as New Rome that he dedicated it (330) and its symbolic character was expressed in its plan in the Church of St. Sophia which he made its pivot, in his placing, e.g., the Palladium, side by side with a piece of the True Cross under its Column of Dedication and so on. From the first it took the place in Christendom for which he had destined it.

It supplied the East at once with what the East had never had before, a real supra-metropolis and it did so not simply because it was the seat of Imperial Government, but because it was New Rome, the city of Christ's vicegerent. So long as the Empire kept hold of the West it reigned with Old Rome as the double mother city of Christendom. After there had ceased to be an Emperor in the West, Old Rome was its appanage for two centuries, and until Charlemagne revived the Empire for the West, it was the sole metropolis of the Empire. As such, no less than for its magnificence, its symbolism, as Tsarigrad, the Queen City, fascinated the Northern and other barbarian nations which were coming into being in the West.

Strictly, in proclaiming himself Emperor in 800, Charlemagne did no more than proclaim himself a member of the Œcumenic Imperial College, and both he and his successors regarded their Holy Roman Empire as legally identical with the Œcumenic Empire, over the whole of which they and their colleagues at Constantinople reigned corporately. Their Cæsardom, however, received only lip recognition at Constantinople and that grudgingly. The evolution of the Papacy in effect split Œcumenic Christendom into two, the Great Schism (1054) not being a schism between the Papacy simply as an ecclesiastical institution from the four Eastern Patriarchates, but—a fact, the significance of which is rarely apparent in our histories—a schism in the Œcumenic Cæsardom. In effect that schism meant that, the West being cut off from it practically and theoretically, Eastern Christendom itself was left a world in itself, and which in its own eyes it was—the Œcumenic Church-State, everything outside of it being chaos. Of that world, Constantinople became increasingly the symbol and the centre until the Fall of Constantinople and has continued to be so through the 4½ centuries of its submersion by Turkish tyranny.

In founding his City, therefore, Constantine equipped the

Œcumenic Empire with what may be described as its Symbolic Centre of Œcumenicity. At the same time that he founded Constantinople, though of a different category, Constantine was creating a second symbolic centre of Œcumenical Christendom at Jerusalem. Doubtless natural piety is an incontestably adequate explanation of his having despatched his octogenarian mother on her pilgrimage of devotion and instigated his and her desire to seek to identify the Holy Places of the Passion. But if piety had not inspired the Isapostolic Emperor and Empress thereto, statesmanship would have taught them what a political asset lay ready to their hand at Jerusalem. The devotion of proscribed Christendom had centred on the Holy Places and under the heathen Cæsars streams of pilgrims had made their way thither in spite of every difficulty.

The Empire having been reborn as Christian, it was inevitable that Jerusalem should be the transcendant centre of devotion for legalized and triumphant Christendom. Plainly, it was both the duty and the privilege of a Cæsar who was Christ's vicegerent to see to it both that the Holy Places were adorned with shrines which, though nothing possibly could be worthy of their sanctity, should be exceedingly magnifical and that the way of approach to them should be free to every pilgrim. That is the obverse and is more than an adequate explanation of Helena's journey, of Constantine's rejoicing at her identification of Calvary, at her invention of the Instruments of the Passion, and of his proclamation to the world of his rejoicing at these events. The reverse is to be illustrated by the importance of Mecca and other Moslem holy places in the system of that travesty of Christendom, Islam. In giving us what may be received fairly as a " modernist " interpretation of the Islamic system, the Khwaga Kemal-ud-din[1] tells us that the primary criterion of a true Khaliph (i.e., Cæsar) of Islam is that he should possess Mecca and the other Holy Places of the Haram and should be able to safeguard the pilgrimage of all and sundry Moslems to them.

Much more then in the fourth century was it a criterion of Christ's vicegerent that he should hold the Holy Sepulchre, Calvary and the Grotto of the Nativity, and that he should safeguard the access to them of the meanest Christian from the ends of the earth. His reward was that, in so doing, he must be recognized by all Christendom for what he was, i.e., Christ's vicegerent.

Faith in a precious relic cannot fail to provide it with the most worthy reliquary in its power. That in the fourth century, if the Empire were to realize itself as Christendom, the Emperor should claim as his proper right the care of the Holy Places was not only prompted by piety, but was a matter of policy. They were the

[1] See *The House Divided* and *India in the Balance*, Woking, 1922.

insignia of the visible order of Christendom and could not be left to private keeping or private devotion.

Accordingly, Constantine issued his proclamation to the world that the Holy Places had been identified and the instruments of the Passion discovered, ordered Makarios, the Bishop of Jerusalem, to erect a superb temple over the Holy Sepulchre, lavished his treasurers upon its building, and did everything in his power to bring to bear upon the whole Christian world the attraction of Jerusalem as the centre of its pilgrimage and devotion. As the British Empire lives by the ocean but did not create it, so the Œcumenic Empire did not create the mystic attraction of Jerusalem but determined and realized its own ideal character in a measure by appropriating that mystic attraction to itself. If Constantinople functioned in the Empire as the Metropolis of Christian Theocracy, Jerusalem functioned as the Metropolis of Christian Mysticism. The devotion of all Christendom was focussed upon it. Pilgrims came to it from the ends of the earth, and all were conscious of their citizenship in the Visible Kingdom of Christ. Jerusalem thus became part of the necessary apparatus of the Œcumenic Empire and a principal vital organ of its life as Christendom. So long as the Empire lasted, no Emperor could afford to show himself indifferent to it and none ever spared his resources to show himself worthy of its customs of its Holy Shrines. Even the anniversaries of the Dedication of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and of the Finding of the True Cross became Œcumenic Feasts. And so on.

This function of Jerusalem in the Œcumenic Empire would appear to be the only possible explanation of its recognition as a Patriarchate. That its future position in the ecclesiastical jurisdictional system of Christendom was a matter of perplexity at the time of Helena's pilgrimage (326) is evidenced by the 7th Canon of Nicæa (325), which, while it left the " Bishop in Ælia " under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan, *sc.* the Patriarch, of Antioch, gave him " the succession of honour " after him. When the fourth Council met, it had become impossible that that arrangement could continue.

The term cæsaro-papism, which has been coined to designate the part played by the Emperors in the Œcumenical Empire is a misnomer. By the theory of that Empire the assumption of ecclesiastical jurisdiction of any kind whatever by the most erastian of them all was unthinkable. None could intrude in things spiritual. But especially in view of the ecclesiastical conflicts by which under the banners of Christological controversy the ancient non-Græco-Latin cultural " nationalities " were already beginning to disrupt the Œcumenical system in order to preserve themselves against " byzantinization," statesmanship could no longer leave Jerusalem ecclesiastically subject to Antioch. If the conditions had been those

of the English Monarchy *dei gratia* in the sixteenth century, the obvious thing to do would have been, as Elizabeth made Westminster Abbey, to have made Jerusalem a royal peculiar. Such an anomaly was not then conceived. But the character of the Emperor as a *mixta persona*, ruling Christendom as Christ's vicegerent, had grown beyond question, and his supervision of the old three supra-jurisdictions in that capacity was established. The obvious expedient was to make it a Patriarchate and so to give the Emperor the maximum of control and of function in regard to it.

That was done by the Council of Chalcedon and accordingly it is to be concluded that the Patriarchate of Jerusalem was proclaimed less on account of the sacred association of the Holy City demanding Patriarchal dignity for its bishop than because that association made it imperative that in the exercise of the guardianship, i.e., the control, of the Christian Capital of Mysticism, no person should intervene between its bishop and the Emperor. The immediate relationship so established persisted, in fact, *mutatis mutandis*, even after Palestine had been permanently absorbed in Islam, the Emperors continuing to lavish what resources they could upon the Holy Shrines, the Khalifs generally admitting their peculiar interest in them, and the Patriarchate being conscious of itself as still an organ of the Œcumenical Empire as centred in Constantinople. The recognition of the necessity of the recovery of Jerusalem for the reconstitution of a single Œcumenic Christendom was a political incentive of the Crusades. In the nineteenth century the same objective motived the Tsardom which thought of itself as an extension of the Œcumenic Empire and conceived itself therefore as obliged by its destiny to possess Jerusalem no less than Constantinople, its need of both of which governed its diplomacy and led it to stimulate the phenomenon of those Russian pilgrimages to the Holy Land with which Mr. Stephen Graham has made us familiar.

Therefore the Jerusalem Patriarchate is not to be described as "jurisdictional" or "pastoral" but as "phrouretic," i.e., as existing to guard the Holy Places. And further it is to be regarded as part of the higher ecclesiastical administration of the Œcumenical system set up for the latter function and not as a local institution which has developed into an Œcumenic institution. That the Patriarchate had and possesses a "jurisdictional" and "pastoral" function in Palestine is an inevitable and minor accident of its proper " phrouretic " nature.

The dioceses of Palestine *could* be placed under no other supra-jurisdiction and, unless he was to be an anomaly, in becoming a Patriarch, the Bishop of Jerusalem could not be left without a diocese.

That at least the majority of the Flock of the Patriarchate were

always and remain content and even proud of their peculiar position and have always regarded and regard the Patriarchate as primarily part of the higher administration of the whole Orthodox system, and not as other than secondarily a local institution would seem apparent even from the documents quoted from this Report.

Finally, it is to be noted that, the Œcumenical Patriarchate having assumed, after 1453, the essential function of the Emperor as the corporate and symbolic centre of the Œcumenic Empire, the Patriarch of Jerusalem held much the same relation to him as he held previously to the Emperor, until the earlier half of the nineteenth century.

In sum, the difference between the Jerusalem Patriarchate and the other four Patriarchates is that, whereas the latter hold their place in the Patriarchal College, because they are the supra-jurisdictional institutions of the great historic divisions of the Orthodox World, the latter has jurisdiction over an insignificant country because on account of its Guardianship of the Holy Shrines it had to have a place in the Patriarchal College.

THE ORIGIN AND FUNCTION OF THE ORTHODOX PATRIARCHATES.

Neither the Mandatory Power, nor, for that matter, the League of Nations itself, can rightly regard the Patriarchate as a local Palestinian institution, in the reform of which it is free to take initiative.

As with the Roman Catholic Church, so with the Orthodox Church. In spite of their mutual contrasts both go back in continuity of form and of organic life beyond the undivided Œcumenical[1] Church of Constantine's Œcumenical Empire to that

[1] There is so much popular misuse of the term Œcumenical and its cognates that it may be well to say here that (1) *Oikoumene*—itself the passive participle of a Greek verb cognate with *oikia*, a house, an ordered dwelling—was used in Bible times to denote the Empire and the sphere of its cultural influence as an ordered civilization; (2) *Oikoumenikos*, the adjective formed from it, came in subsequent centuries to denote that which appertained to a single world-wide, all-embracing system and order. Thus nothing could be more absurd than the frequent designation of last year's Stockholm Life and Work Conference as "Œcumenic"; for its participants were characterized by almost every Christian diversity conceivable, and posessed no common system. The essential pretension of the heathen Roman Empire was that it was Œcumenic, for (see Lord Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*), its claim was that it was the divinely ordained and unique household which was destined to be eternal and all-embracing. That claim was, of course, maintained, when under Constantine the Empire ceased to be Heathendom, the realm of the heathen gods, and became Christendom, the realm of the Christ. Since the Empire then identified itself with the Church, "Œcumenical" when used as an ecclesiastical term came to signify unity of ecclesiastical type, law, administration and so forth. The Church, therefore, was Œcumenical after Nicæa, because, whatever its diversity, it was a single household, an ordered unity. A Council or a Canon was Œcumenical because it was the expression of that Unity and ran through every part of the Church. The Patriarch of Constantinople would appear to have adopted the title of Œcumenical Patriarch in the seventh century because he acquired at Chalcedon a certain vague appellate function throughout the Œcumenic Empire. Up to the Fall of Constantinople in 1453 the Byzantine Empire regarded itself as the single and unique divinely ordained Empire of Christ and, after that date, the secular side of that Empire having disappeared, its spiritual side, the Orthodox Church, continued the tradition. For these reasons, the Orthodox Church is to be regarded as the heir and representative of the (Eastern) Œcumenic Empire.

primitive Church of the Apostles, the accepted and certain reconstruction of which is a problem of historical research and would decide most inter-confessional controversies. Whatever modifications in theory or in structure the sixteen centuries which have produced the Modern World have produced in the form of their respective polities, those polities, as they exist and function to-day, are organic evolutions of the polity of the one Œcumenical Church as it was found and regularized by the First Council of Nicæa (325 A.D.).

That to readjust the constitution of an historic institution which is a major institution of any system that is itself the growth of centuries is always a delicate matter, is axiomatic to anyone who considers, e.g., what reactions a readjustment of the constitutional relation of the British Sovereign to the Parliament of the United Kingdom might have upon the fabric of the British Empire. In supranational religious complexes such as the historic system of the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches the readjustment of a major institution is obviously an extremely delicate business and, especially if initiated by a secular authority without the concurrences and goodwill of the whole Communion affected, is capable of producing unsuspected, if not necessarily catastrophic, repercussions and far-reaching consequences.

That the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem is such a major institution of the Orthodox Church should not need to be stated.

The title "Patriarch" was used loosely in the earlier centuries rather as a mark of dignity than as denoting a special function in Œcumenical Christendom, and is still so used in the West. But among the Orthodox, though Patriarchal dignity has been assumed in the present decade by the chief bishops both of Serbia and of Rumania,[1] the title has been attached for over a thousand years to certain great metropolitical sees with a very special significance to appreciate which is of first importance for the understanding of this Report. The Orthodox interpretation—those who accept the Papal claims would, of course, amend it—of the evolution of the Œcumenical system of jurisdiction may be taken to be that, as the primitive Church spread, her starting point in each territorial unit was its capital city, its metropolis, in which the first bishop naturally set up his throne. As other dioceses were cut off from that first diocese of any such unit, their bishops had full jurisdiction in them. But inasmuch as they had been formed from it as their mother diocese, the original see was the Metropolis of them all, and, as their metropolitan, its occupant consecrated and presided over their bishops, difficulties arising in them being referred to his jurisdiction. But not only was the whole of

[1] The Œcumenical Patriarch has recognized formally their assumption of the title; but it is to be doubted whether they are to be considered Patriarchs in the historic sense.

Œcumenical Christendom divided in this fashion into many metropolitical jurisdictions which corresponded roughly to the administrative division of secular Government. From whatever principle that metropolitical system originated, there was evolved as part and parcel of it, as it were, a system of supra-metropolitical jurisdictions.

In the Roman Empire of the first three centuries A.D. there were three supra-capitals, metropoleis of all the lesser metropoleis—each, for one of the three great territorial divisions into which the three ancient and highly distinct racial civilizations that had to be welded into the unity of its *Oikoumene* divided it naturally: Rome for the lands of the Græco-Latin culture; Alexandria for those of the Egyptian; Antioch for those of the Syrian. As to when, why and how the bishops of those three capital cities became the supra-metropolitans of the metropolitans within the area of their respective cultural influence is a matter of controversy. The Orthodox view is that they became so in recognition of social, cultural and political facts, by natural evolution, reinforced by consent. At any rate, their supra-metropolitical jurisdiction was existent before the first Œcumenical Council endorsed it (325) as a practical principle of the Œcumenical order of Christendom. The process of historical development has precised the supra-metropolitical function so exercised in the ante-Nicæan period and confirmed at Nicæa in 325, but that function is the characteristic of a Patriarch[1] in the special sense which we are considering.

Assuming the Orthodox interpretation of their genesis, the actual number of Patriarchates is immaterial, the general consent which produced them in the first instance having validity to increase or diminish them. Accordingly the Fourth Œcumenical Council (Chalcedon, 451) added two such jurisdictions to the ancient three, viz.: Constantinople by its 28th Canon, and Jerusalem by a decision. The reason for the creation of the former Patriarchate is not only apparent from history but is stated in the Canon. The Isapostolic Emperor had founded it as New Rome, to be, with Old Rome on the Tiber, the sister capital of the Œcumenical Empire and by 451 it had long been the factual supra-capital of the Eastern half of Christendom—in a measure of Egytian and Syrian, as well as altogether of Eastern and Græco-Latin civilization. Therefore, the Fourth Council not only decreed it to be a Patriarchate, but, because it was then the twin capital of Œcumenical Christendom, gave it an equal place with Old Rome which, however, as *the* Supra-Capital of supra-capitals, held the first place in dignity. It is true that the Pope of the day opposed the assignment of Patriarchal function to the bishop of the New Imperial Metropolis and that Western Theology sustained his objection on the ground

[1] Though I have used Patriarch and Patriarchate throughout, those terms were not fixed specifically until after the tenth century.

that the three primitive Patriarchates possessed indefeasible rights of jurisdiction each in its area of jurisdiction. None the less the new arrangement stood and was accepted generally, at least in the East.

Accordingly from the age of the Councils there were five Patriarchates. The Great Schism between the Papacy and the East, which became formal and indurate in 1054, had in effect as its chief cause a controversy as to the nature and form of supra-metropolitical jurisdiction, Rome claiming Supremacy for the Pope as *de jure divino* and the East according him Primacy only as *de jure ecclesiastico*. The effect of that Schism, however, for the Orthodox, was that in the long run, the Papal Obedience having fallen away from what they held to be the One, True, Apostolic and Œcumenical Church, i.e., their own Communion, the Patriarchate of Old Rome had entered into abeyance and only four existing Patriarchates remained, the Patriarch of Constantinople, who had been known as the Œcumenical Patriarch since the seventh century, thus succeeding *per lapsum* to single primacy over the remaining Patriarchs, the number of whom was restored to five by the addition of Russia in the sixteenth century. Even in the tenth century, though still part of the direct jurisdiction of Constantinople, not as a Patriarchate, but as an ordinary metropolis, Russia had been already a moiety of the Eastern Orthodox Communion. In the fifteenth century the Russian Grand Princedom had transformed itself into the Russian Tsardom. That is to say, soon after the fall of Constantinople and the extinction of its line of Œcumenical Emperors in 1453, Ivan, the Great Prince, in virtue of his marriage with Sophia, the niece of the last of them, Constantine XIII., claimed the Œcumenical Imperial office for himself, and assumed for his successors that rôle of the liberation and restoration of the subjugated home-lands of Eastern Christendom, which became thenceforward the dominating ideal and ambition of the Russian Tsardom.[1] Accordingly, the Œcumenical Patriarch, Jermiah II., visited Moscow, and with the consent of his three brother Patriarchs, proclaimed it in 1589, to be the fifth Patriarchate with the Russian Empire as its particular supra-jurisdiction. This elevation of the Metropolitan of Moscow to be one of the four Patriarchs was thus not in accordance with the precedent of the Bulgar and Serb mediæval "Patriarchates"[2]

[1] In fact, Ivan's grandson, Dmitri, was the first crowned Tsar (Cæsar) of Russia.

[2] The first and second Bulgar Tsardoms and the Serb Tsardom of Stepan Nemanja and Stepan Dushan, each had their Patriarchs of Ochrida, Trnovo and Ipek, but their status was dubious and, at least generally, they were never recognized as colleagues of the four Patriarchs, being at most what would now be called "heads of autocephalous Churches." The present Patriarch of Serbia is the lineal successor of the Patriarch of the Serb Tsardom, the succession of Serb Patriarchs having been maintained at Ipek until in the eighteenth century, after the great Serb trek of 1690 into Austria, it was transformed into that of Karlowicz, which, in turn, in 1922, became that of Serbia. The Rumanian Patriarch of Ungro-Vlachia claims to be regarded as a revival of that of Trnovo.

which demanded that every Emperor or Tsar should have his Patriarch. It was an application of the Orthodox principle that ecclesiastical jurisdiction should be revised to meet historical developments, according to which, in Orthodox Polity, the number of Patriarchates is not fixed on principle or of indefeasible right, but can be increased or diminished at the discretion of an Œcumenical Council or by General Consent. In practice, however, the fivefold jurisdictional division of Œcumenical Christendom has obtained since Chalcedon and, for the Orthodox, now consists of the Patriarchates of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem and Russia.

So far as I know, the Patriarchal theory has never been precised explicitly, and is somewhat elusive. As it obtained in the East, it would appear that as, though one Emperor *ruled* factually in one delimited area and another in another, all the Emperors formed together a College which *reigned* corporately throughout Œcumenical Christendom, so, though each Patriarch held his own proper supra-jurisdiction, all the Patriarchs came to be regarded as a *collegium* which was the corporate symbol of the totality of the Œcumenical hierarchy, in which it might be said that "the Orthodox Church consisted." This view is incompatible, e.g., neither with the "autonomy"[1] of the Churches of Cyprus and Georgia in ancient times nor with the present "autocephaly" of the Churches of Hellas, Serbia, Rumania etc.

The *status* of those jurisdictions would in theory appear to be analogous to that of the mediæval Kingdoms, such as the English or French, to the rulers of which the Œcumenical Emperor had delegated an indefeasible and perpetual independence of rule, but which still remained part of the Œcumenical Empire.[2]

In the theory of mediæval Christendom the Emperor or College of Emperors, still remained Christ's vicegerent, the whole of Œcumenical Christendom being his realm, only—as witness the challenge given on their landing in Great Britain to the Western Emperor Sigismund in 1416, and to Manuel Palæologos, the more legitimate Eastern Emperor, in 1400, as to whether they claimed right of rule therein—there were portions of it wherein they had definitely and finally abnegated all direct authority.

[1] The Orthodox distinction between autocephaly and autonomy which now obtains is that, while both legislate and so forth for themselves at their discretion and are restrained only by the Canons of an Œcumenical Council or by Œcumenical customs, an autonomous Church is subject to the supra-jurisdiction of the Patriarchate in which its territory lies, but an autocephalous Church is subject to no superior jurisdiction other than that of an Œcumenical Council. Cyprus was recognized by the Third Œcumenical Council, 431, as what is now known as an autocephalous Church—e.g., the Orthodox Churches of Finland and Poland are autonomous, but whether they are under the supra-jurisdiction of the Œcumenical Patriarch or the Russian is contested.

[2] In Sunni Islam, the theory of which is a travesty of that of the Œcumenical Empire, the Khaliph (Allah's vicegerent) roughly represents the Cæsar, and the Emirates the indefeasible Kingdoms delegated to his Emirs.

In much the same way the Patriarchs may be regarded as being the corporate and symbolic College of the chief bishops[1] of the Church holding conjoint supra-jurisdiction in every part of the Œcumenical Christendom and it is thus, e.g., that each of them wherever he goes takes precedence even of the chief bishop of an autocephalous Church in his own metropolis and that, whenever any autocephalous Church is in widowhood of its chief bishop, the names of the five Patriarchs are read from the diptychs at the Liturgy.

In sum, whether or not the analogy in Orthodox Polity of the Patriarchal College to the Imperial College of the Œcumenical Empire be valid, it may be generalized that from the Fall of Constantinople up to our own day,[2] conciliar action on the part of the whole Orthodox Church being precluded by the circumstances, the Patriarchs when acting and speaking together have in effect served as the supreme organ of the Orthodox Church and their decisions have been received as having not theoretical but factual Œcumenic authority.

It is true that the conditions which have kept the Orthodox Church in immobility for four and a half centuries have disappeared finally with the War. Western categories, social, cultural, political, national, are beginning to leaven the Near East out of knowledge. During the nineteenth century the creation of sovereign national Orthodox states in the Balkans—in Rumania, Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria—had for its concomitant the erection of autocephalous national Orthodox Churches in each of them, the jurisdiction of everyone of them being to-day numerically greater than that of any one of the four ancient Patriarchates. Moreover, by its being the Church of a free nation, each of them has made greater advance than has been possible for the four ancient Patri-

[1] All Orthodox Catechisms have statements to that effect. Thus the Longer Russian Catechism of 1823 (Philaret's) has these three questions and answers. (Trans. Blackmore, Aberdeen, 1845):—

Q. What hierarchal authority is there, which can extend its sphere of action over the whole Catholic Church?

A. An Œcumenical Council.

Q. Under what hierarchal authority are the chief divisions of the Catholic Church?

A. Under the Orthodox Patriarchs, and the Most Holy Synod.

Q. Under what ecclesiastical authority are lesser orthodox provinces and cities?

A. Under Metropolitans, Archbishops and Bishops.

The "Most Holy Synod" in question is, of course, that of Russia which, as a *collegium*, exercised the Patriarchal office from Peter the Great's suspension of it in 1721 till its re-establishment in 1917. It is instructive to note that in his Draft for an Orthodox Catechism (Sremsky-Karlowicz, 1924) p. 64, the Metropolitan Anthony of Kiev conjoins the Serbian Patriarch with the five Patriarchs—the Rumanian Patriarchate had not been declared at that time—as "the hierarchal authority (slyashtenonachalia), to which the chief divisions of the Œcumenical Church are subject."

[2] That the whole Orthodox Church could be represented at any Council after 1453 was impossible through the Turks' suspicion of their "rayah" having relations with the Russian Tsardom. The Russian Church did not take part in the Council of Bethlehem, 1672, since when no important Council has been held.

archates.[1] Those facts had modified the Orthodox complex insensibly and before the War the lines of the old Orthodox World were manifestly changing. Two prime factors held back even the discussion of Œumenic action being taken to adopt Orthodox polity to the change of circumstances. The one was the Russian Tsardom which was, of course, bilateral, a church-state permeated with the tradition that it was the heir of the Œcumenical Empire and that its calling was not only to liberate the Christian East, but to restore that Empire with its own Tsar as Christ's vicegerent. Russia could not tolerate anything being done until its Emperor had been crowned in a redeemed Sophia, which, by right, was his own. The other was the fact that any movement on the part of the Œcumenical Patriarchate indicating Œcumenical activity would certainly have been crushed by the jealousy of the Turks. In 1924, the concept of a revived Œcumenical Empire is as dead in the East as is that of a revived Holy Roman Empire in the West. The whole Orthodox world is talking of an Œcumenical Council and, if by vetoing the Œcumenical Patriarchates taking part in it, the Angora Government had not postponed its convention, such a Council has been opened at Mount Athos this year. That ultimately, if the Orthodox Church is not to disintegrate, as Roman Catholic Polity has otherwise transformed itself, so Orthodox Polity must transform itself until nothing but vestigial marks of its having been the spiritual side of a single, bilateral Œcumenical Church-State will remain, and that, like the Roman Catholic Church, the Orthodox must become conscious that *in esse* it is a purely spiritual supra-national *civitas* and must forget its former practical identification with the temporality of Christendom is incontestable.

For that end, and, seeing especially that at present the modern autocephalous Churches are in something like Byzantine connection with their respective states, the necessity is the recovering, not of a supra-national Orthodox consciousness—for that is in salient existence—but of the supra-national machinery of Orthodox Polity, i.e., of the co-ordinated and corporate supra-national action of its hierarchy.

Plenty of immediate demands, the revision of the Calendar, the Reunion Question, the marriage of widowed clergy and of bishops, and so on, give the Orthodox pressing occasion for their postponed Œcumenical Council, but behind and above them all is their essential need of it as the organ of their Œcumenical activity.

[1] Before its recent and post-War extirpation the flock of the Œcumenical Patriarchate was numerically comparable to the Moslem-Turkish population in the lands of its jurisdiction. The flocks of the other three were small minorities compared with the Arabs in theirs. That, while under Moslem domination, the Patriachates could make progress was quite impossible. The next decades will show whether they can do so.

That its convention will further be put off indefinitely is, of course, very possible. If only 100,000 or so Orthodox are still under Turkish oppression, Mustapha Kemal has his finger on the central ganglion of Orthodox Polity—*sc.*, on the Œcumenical Patriarchate—and the Bolsheviks keep the Russian Church in chaos. In spite of the manifest warranty for impatience at the delay, that the meeting of what for the Orthodox will be the first Œcumenical Council since 787 should be delayed, may be a gain and not a loss. For when it assembles lapse of time may increase the unanimity of the acceptance of its decisions. But if and when it does assemble, either it will readjust the machinery of Orthodox Polity by enactment or, which is more probable, that machinery will readjust itself tacitly by the procedure that it adopts. In either case, the Patriarchates appear destined to play their historic part in the Council and it would appear that the desiderated readjustment will consist largely of establishing their future position in the Orthodox Polity.

Accordingly, in view of the traditional and canonical primacy of the Five Patriarchs in the Orthodox hierarchy and of their factual authority and importance, the Patriarchate of Jerusalem must be regarded not as a local Palestinian, but as a Pan-Orthodox supranational institution. Indeed, in view of the intimate connection of many of the autocephalous Churches with their national states, it is also to be regarded as having an importance among the *imponderabilia* of Near Eastern politics—in illustration of which assertion may be adduced the eagerness of the Synodical party in Russia to obtain recognition from it and the consternation of the "Russian Exiles" at the rumour published by the *Times* on October 9th, 1926, that that recognition had been given.

SYRIAN ORTHODOX CONSECRATIONS.

By the Rev. C. T. Bridgeman.

THE most interesting ecclesiastical event in Jerusalem in the last year was the consecration, on Sunday, October 24th, of three bishops by His Beatitude Ignatius III., Syrian (Jacobite) Patriarch of Antioch. This is the first time in nineteen years that one has had the opportunity to witness a consecration according to the Syrian rite in the Holy City.

The jurisdiction of the Syrian Patriarch extends to that romantic Christian Church which has been from Apostolic times in India, along the Malabar coast. Two of the bishops-elect were sent from this Malabar Church to receive at the hands of the Patriarch the Apostolic commission which originally went forth from Jerusalem. The third was a Syrian.

The consecration took place in the ancient Church of St. Mark, in the Syrian Convent, a place which their tradition associates with the house of John Mark where the Last Supper was eaten, St. Mary the Virgin baptized, and the Holy Spirit descended on the Apostles. At the time of the service on Sunday morning the little Church was crowded with worshippers. Representatives of every religious group in Jerusalem were in the choir, notably the Greek Orthodox and Russians, the Armenians, Copts, Abyssinians, Franciscans, various Uniats and the Anglican Church. In a gallery were seated consular and Governmental representatives. The Patriarch was assisted by Mar Gregorius, Bishop of Jerusalem and Mar Julius, who for two years has been his representative in Malabar, and who accompanied the bishops-elect from India.

After the Liturgy, celebrated by the Patriarch, had proceeded as far as the Communion of the sacred ministers, the service was interrupted by the consecration. The three candidates, who had up to this point been standing with their heads covered by veils before the altar, were now uncovered, and read in Syriac and Arabic an oath of loyalty and conformity to the Syrian Church. The Patriarch now began a Litany addressed to the Holy Spirit and followed it with various prayers. For the first part of the consecration the bishops-elect were gathered about the Patriarch and enveloped in the ample folds of his cope. While the choir sang the Patriarch said the appropriate prayers and breathed on the forehead of each of the ordinands after the example of our Lord. The cope was then removed from their heads and he laid his hands on each of them, signing them with the sign of the cross. Each of them was then solemnly vested with amice, cope, stole and pectoral cross, while the congregation signified their approval by that ululation which one hears at the service of Holy Fire in the Holy

Sepulchre. In the next ceremony each new bishop was seated in a chair and, while the Patriarch cried " axios " (Gk. *worthy*), he was lifted bodily into the air by deacons to show him to the congregation, who, as before, showed their approval. A sermon in Arabic was then given by the Patriarch, followed by another in English by one of the newly-made bishops from India. After the communion of the Patriarch and the new bishops the service concluded with the blessing and dismissal of His Beatitude.

The custom obtains of changing the names of priests when they are elevated to the episcopate: thus Father Dionysius is now Bishop Michael of Cottayam, Malabar; Father Dioscorus has become Bishop Thomas of Kananait, Malabar; and Father Cyrillus, the Syrian priest, Bishop Michael.

In the afternoon a reception was given the new bishops in St. Mark's Convent, when all official Jerusalem assembled to pay them honour. The Bishop of Jerusalem and Mrs. MacInnes were among those who went to wish them God-speed in their new work.

It is noteworthy that in this service of consecration the Patriarch *alone* laid hands on the consecrands. Asked about it later he said that when the Patriarch performed the service the two bishops present were expected merely to stand by, and he alone laid on hands. But when he was not present, and delegated authority to others, all three delegated bishops were obliged to lay their hands on the consecrands, though only the chief of the three breathed on them. And at the same hour, the Patriarch in his own Church or wherever he was, celebrated the Liturgy with intention for the new bishops.

Again, it is interesting that at this service the Patriarch, in his Arabic sermon, and Bishop Michael of Cottayam in the one following in English, took as their texts the authority that the Patriarchs of Antioch received from St. Peter. They claimed for St. Peter that he was the Rock, apart from whom there could be no Church, and said he was Christ's Vicar, etc., making every distinctive Roman claim for the Patriarch of Antioch (Syrian of course), except Infallibility. It was most curious. However, the reason was doubtless that there has been so much denial of the Patriarch's authority in India that he took the opportunity to lay down the law.

* * *

Mar Julius, who came from India with the bishops-elect, has for two years been the Patriarch's representative there. It is doubtless he who has been complained of by the discontented faction there in letters sent to Bishop MacInnes. However, he seems like a good man.

From Mar Ignatius we learn that in Malabar he has 7 dioceses: (1) Cottayam, to which Michael now goes; (2) Angalamali, where

one, Anastasius, is now Bishop (apparently only one of two up to now recognizing the Patriarch); (3) Kandanar (vacant); (4) Quilon (vacant); (5) Niranan (vacant) (6) Thumbamon (vacant); and (7) Kananait, which is a sort of extra territorial or racial jurisdiction attached to Cottayam, ministering to a group of Syrians who for centuries have been in Malabar and form a separate group from the other peoples; they have one bishop already, one Severius, and now Dioscorus will be added.

In Cochin there is but one diocese, of the same name, and now vacant.

It is significant that in Travancore, the Patriarch's party has been upheld by the Courts (now again on appeal) and so there he has some jurisdiction; while in Cochin, the insurgents (Metran's Party) were upheld by law and the Patriarch defeated. All is now in turmoil and still under litigation.

PRESENT-DAY PROBLEMS OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCH.

By the Rev. W. A. Wigram, D.D.

ALL friends and children of the Orthodox Church would admit that she is at the moment in rather heavy weather, though there is no reason to think that her Lord is asleep in the ship, or that there is need to cry "Save us, we perish." Her friends in the Church of England may like to know, to some extent, in what the difficulties consist, that they may direct their prayers for her with some knowledge.

Broadly, the position is this: First, that the problems of a changing age, ecclesiastical, scientific and political, which came on us in the West very gradually, are being presented to our Eastern brethren all at once, and a time of mental strain is inevitable in consequence.

Turkish rule was in some respects like a glacier. It crushed what was under it, but it preserved too, though what was under its weight might be kept unchanged at the cost of being frozen, and might have the life squeezed out of it if the pressure went on too long! In a time that is very short, as we count the lives of peoples, the glacier has withdrawn and the frozen nations that have been under it since the days of our Edward III., have come to life again; but this process, with all its problems, has been going on for a bare century at most, even in Greece and Serbia, and this revival of national life produces its own problems, both in Church and State.

Further, this age has been the period of the great scientific dis-

coveries in the west, with their necessary impact on religion. In the West, these discoveries came gradually, or at least in succession, but even so, there was a good deal of strain and of mental adjustment, when men had to make up their minds to cast to the winds much that they had thought essential and primitive, though it was actually late mediæval. Gradually we have found, and are finding, that what is really true cannot be really contradictory to Him who is the Truth; but we have had seventy years in which to make that discovery, while in the case of the Orthodox the discoveries have been presented en bloc, in the course of the brief period in which the political changes that were themselves disturbing, have brought the chance of education to all. The Troglodytes have suddenly been turned round and bidden to look steadily out at a light—of some: let us hope that the light is a true one, even if successive headets of it may occasionally contradict one another!

Can one wonder that some among them are dazzled, or that the conservatives should say, "we stand on the old paths and the old ways, and those only"? Impatient people say that the attitude is obscurantist, and there may be an element of truth in the charge: but the East never claimed to be a product of civilization, and her most obstinate conservatives are less unreasoning and unreasonable than those produced by the land that does make that claim, the United States of America!

So, this conservatism has its quaint aspect, and where that is so, no Orthodox friend will refuse us the right to a smile at its quaintness, provided that the smile be accompanied by sympathy, and the recollection that we have been quite as foolish in our time—with much less excuse!

Take as an instance the heart-burnings caused by the needful change of the calendar. Smile, if you will, in superior western way, at tales of monks or nuns, bred to old ways, and protesting that "I tell you the truth; the Blessed Virgin *does not like* this new Calendar," or declaring that not even an Œcumenical council can rule that the prayers shall be said on days when there is no certainty that the saints can be there to hear them. Do not even their ikons weep with a sense of loss and shame?

That may be quaint, of course, but imagine, superior western, that you are a parish priest with a flock of simple people, and set to the task of explaining to all the mothers of your parish, how it is that Spiro or Yanni can have no birthday this year. Do you fancy the job? For that is how it works out in a land where the Priest must visit every house on the "Name-day" of the child, and when authority has suddenly ordered that 13 days shall be left out. We have had to go through it, and it was in enlightened and Protestant England that riotous crowds demanded "give us back our eleven days," and thought that divine Providence would cause them to

die eleven days[1] the sooner because of the alteration! There is little to choose between the two attitudes, and what there is, is not in our favour.

Of course, nothing can hinder the peoples of the Balkans and Levant from eating of the tree of scientific knowledge. The only thing to do is what the wise men of the Church are endeavouring to do, to provide such education that the eating may not be harmful. In such a case, it is but charity not to sneer, but to ask, "Is there any way in which we can help?" Direct help is not possible, but the work done by our scholars in working towards a reconciliation of true science with duly stated religion, may be most useful to others who have to face a like problem.

To accept a new mental outlook without undue disturbance is a task hard enough for any one generation to accomplish, and in the present case the task is put before them at a moment when every single portion of the fabric of Church and State is strained, partly by the aftermath of the war, partly by the movements that helped to produce that explosion, and which still continue, now that its force has removed some of the obstacles that hindered them.

In attempting to review the position, we must leave the Russian Church out of account. Its difficulties, internal and external, can only be understood by one having personal knowledge to which the present writer can lay no claim; everywhere else, in "orthodox lands," we have problems the solution of which might tax the wisest.

For the twenty years preceding the war the problem of the Balkans was the uprising of national consciousness among very confused types. There was a series of small nations, Serbia, Bulgaria, Roumania, Greece, Albania, Montenegro, each with the intense patriotism of a small nation, and whose religion was, broadly, Orthodoxy. Mohammedans were not, save in one instance, regarded as members of the nations in question, and the minorities of Romans and Protestants were of negligible size. The question was, how to reconcile the demand for national independence with the obedience due to the Orthodox Church authority, viz., the Œcumenical patriarchate.

The fact that the holder of the throne was an Ottoman subject was an additional complication of the problem.

How can the rights of the throne, which are admitted to exist, though not very clearly defined, be reconciled with the claim of a series of bodies, in each of which self-consciousness is growing, to be "auto-cephalous" or "autonomous." The claim might be a sound one in itself, though those who made it were demanding at least as much as they were in a state to use, without danger to themselves, but it was one, the granting of which would call for a

[1] The change was one of eleven days in 1720, but of thirteen in 1926.

good deal of unselfishness from the controlling Greek body, that was accustomed to think of the right to rule in the Church as a heritage committed to the Greek by the Church's Founder.

It was a problem which, in our time, we have had to try to answer, and the lasting schisms of the Reformation are the testimony to the fact that we failed. In the Balkans to-day, national ambitions, righteous and otherwise, and personal and official selfishness play their part, no doubt. Small wonder that it should be so. There was a good deal of it afoot in the days of Leo X. and Paul IV., of Henry VIII. and the Protector Somerset!

These are the general problems, those of reconciling old truths and new knowledge, old authority and new developments. In each country they take their peculiar form, conditioned by the circumstances of the case. Greece, for instance, has her own terrible set of problems. Egged on by Europe to tackle what Europe shirked in Asia Minor, she failed in her effort, the failure being caused by the fact that some of her allies acted with singularly black and dastardly treachery towards her, supplying arms and officers to her enemy, with whom they were still technically at war. If our own land did not behave as badly as did France and Italy, we have little cause for pride over the way in which we abandoned her in her failure. So, Greece has had to face the awful problem of the Refugees, a problem which, proportionately, would amount to this with us: that the whole ten millions of greater London should suddenly be poured, penniless and destitute, on the rest of England. That that problem should have been solved, as it has been, with so few mistakes and so little disorder, is a marvel in itself and a testimony to the power of the Greek nation, particularly as it had to be faced in a period of political "stasis" in the country.

Ultimately, in accordance with the eternal justice of things, the influx of refugees will bring to Greece a benefit analogous to that brought by the Huguenots to England, though on a larger scale in proportion, seeing that the whole of the manufacturing classes of Turkey have been thus transplanted into another land. Turkey will have, in the long run, to pay the penalty of the line of action she has chosen. For the moment, however, the strain on the whole national fabric of Greece has been very great. Also, the great migration has settled the problem of Macedonia and, in fact, of the Balkans at large, though at a cost of human suffering that will hardly bear thinking of. The Macedonian problem of the first decade of this century consisted in the fact that several national types, each cherishing mutually exclusive ideals, were mixed in the country like dice in a bag, and each claimed, and none could enforce, rights over all the others. At least they have now been sorted out, and Macedonia, so far as it is under the Greek flag, is peopled by folk who are Greek, from Asia, and the Turk has gone

for ever. It is also true that, in a land where hitherto people have shown that they simply cannot forget, this population is filled with a hatred of the Turk which we (who so easily forgive the wrongs done to other people), simply cannot understand. Perhaps one may say, may God in his mercy forbid that we should ever have cause to understand. One statement, made to the writer by a thoughtful doctor, may give the home-dweller some insight into the matter. "It is a problem," he said, "a problem both psychological and medical. We have hundreds of girls in this camp, and I suppose it is the same in others, who will bear children to unknown fathers who were Turks, as a result of those three days of sack in Smyrna. How will they grow up, who have hatred of the Turk woven into their very being, during the nine months before birth? If they ever fight the Turk, heaven help those Turks whom they face!"

At least, however, hatred of a foreigner over the border, no matter how bitter or how justifiable, is not so daily a problem as the same hatred for a foreigner, side by side with whom you have to live.

The sorting out of the national types of the Balkans is the preliminary to a *modus vivendi* between those types, and in time the mutual hatred between them may lose its edge and they be content to dwell peaceably together. It will, however, be a matter of time, for the Balkan man is not, like the British, a bad hater with a short memory. Men will soberly base political claims to-day on what took place in the Balkans at the time of our Edward III. "Of course, we Serbs ought to have such a district. Was it not part of the empire of our Stephen Dushan?" No doubt it was, but the argument is one that would make Bordeaux an English possession to-day! And nations that have this long memory have much for it to feed on. Serbs, for instance, look back to days in the great war, when not only every soldier, but every priest, every school master, and every school mistress, was killed by the Bulgarian occupying force. Those whose work it was to make the Serbian nationality, were as much their enemies as those who fought in the field!

To return, however, to Greece. In the terrible need of funds in which the nation found itself, and the necessity of lands, on which the refugees could be settled, we have seen the confiscation of nearly all the great estates, including those of the monasteries, and it is certain that the monastic life in Greece—though too deeply rooted to be torn out altogether—will be much diminished in future. Novices are few in houses where small pensions only are paid to monks who are diminishing in number, and it is to be expected that only a few institutions will survive after a few years, though the monastic life is too congruous to the Greek mind to vanish altogether. If monasteries have had to go to a great extent, at least the act of destruction has been done more respectably than elsewhere.

There was a real necessity, and a real demand for national sacrifice in which the Church bore her part. There was no Greek edition of Messrs. Legh and Layton with their false accusations, as in our English monasteries.

Other quaint survivals have vanished, or are in process of vanishing, with the monasteries, and among them is one, the passing of which we must regret, even while we approve. It is the old family ownership of the relics of St. Spiridion in Corfu. This Cypriot saint, one of the signatories of the creed of Nicæa, died in his island diocese, but his relics were transferred to Constantinople in the Middle Ages, and were there in their church at the time of the Turkish capture of the city. How they escaped those most pious and greedy relic-hunters, the men of the fourth Crusade, we know not, but escape they did. Soon after the fall of the city, however, it was determined to smuggle the relics of the saint out to a Christian land once more, and they were stored in a sack of chaff for the purpose. As there was room to spare in the sack, the priest in charge determined not to waste space, and he put in another body that was also held in honour in the church, and that was, of all unlikely people, the body of the Empress Theodora!

Bishop and imperial damsense went across the sea together in this strange companionship—it is to be hoped that the Bishop appreciated the humour of the position as much as one may be sure the Empress did—and arrived safely in Corcyra. There they were of course the property of the priest who had brought them, and on his death his three sons had a certain dispute as to the division of them. One of the three took Theodora as his share, and that striking personality, having begun life as a dancer and gone on as the most picturesque and effective empress in the whole history of Constantinople is now a most proper and miracle-working saint, in the cathedral. The other two brothers, only one of whom was married, agreed that St. Spiridion should be the dowry of the daughter of the other, and the girl took that quaint marriage portion into the local family which she entered on her wedding. A church was soon built, one of the family became its rector, and there the relics of the saint have remained to this day, so that the traveller can still look on the very hands that signed the original creed of Nicæa. The family, as rectors of the church, have hitherto taken a certain percentage—one seventh, we think—of the offerings made at the shrine, and it is a proof of the popular devotion to the saint that ever since that date—approximately 1500—the share payable to the family has averaged £1,000 per annum. A tolerable dowry for one girl to bring with her to her new home.

Now, recent developments show the change in the mentality of the people, such as that which made comfortable and indefensible old sinecures an impossibility in nineteenth-century England. The

present male representative of the house declines to be ordained in order to keep on the family property, preferring to allow the income to lapse rather than be a party to what he has come to regard as an impropriety, so that the quaint survival ends in a way most creditable to all concerned. Local authority has ruled that this part of the offerings made to the shrine shall be paid for "communal ends" in future, so that it would seem that the saint is to work miracles for the relief of rates! Well, some of us would hold that a saint who would do that would be an admirable institution anywhere, and that the practice would be itself a miracle that would add lustre to the halo of any saint in the calendar! It is an admirable instance of the way in which a quaint survival that has outlived its usefulness can be extinguished without friction.

Seeing, however, that the Orthodox Church at large finds herself in the same sort of position as the Church of England, needing, that is, to adapt machinery framed in the seventeenth century or thereabouts to the purposes of the twentieth, it is not surprising that she should find a like need for an altering authority; seeing, however, that in her case the body is made up of many self-governing and semi-independent Churches, the only body that can function in the case is an "Œcumenical" council.

Where the body as a whole is made up of four ancient Patriarchates, with perhaps nine or ten "autocephalous" Churches in religious communion with those four, whose Patriarchs—where they bear that title—are not counted as on an equality with the older thrones, nothing less than that will meet the need. The difficulty is, however, to get an Œcumenical council to meet and function, particularly in the existing political state of the Balkans and the Levant. A synod was a necessity, and also a "pro-synod," that should review the questions as a preliminary, and draw up a set of "agenda" for the main council. Now in the Orthodox Church, an Œcumenical council without the Œcumenical Patriarch is rather like a council of the Roman Church without the Pope. The throne of Constantinople may have been originally no more than one of the five great thrones, and the junior one of the five at that, but Byzantine and Turkish history combined to give it an importance above them. The emperor, whose throne was at Constantinople made the patriarch of that throne supreme for practical purposes above all others. The Sultan used him as his instrument for the government of all Rayahs, and saw to it that at least his power over them was unquestioned. A heavy price had to be paid for this dignity, but the Turk at least gave him the benefits of his established position! So, to function without him is impossible for the Church.

Then came the council of Lausanne, according to which the Patriarchate was to continue at Constantinople, shorn of all its

political power, but with full liberty for all its religious and ecclesiastical functions. That was the pledged word of the Turk to Europe and to the world. As soon, however (those who have lived under the Turk have a melancholy pleasure in the fact that they foresaw it), as any action was proposed, it was summarily forbidden by Turkish authority. The government of that land, with its habitual and cynical disregard of any pledge made to those under its power, told the Patriarch that he was no more than the "protopapaz" of such Greeks as happened to be in Ottoman territory, and that he had no right even to look over the border. The fact is—and if the diplomatic world does not know it, at least, it is not for want of being told—that the Turk simply cannot recognize any right in a "rayah." He can admit, when forced to do so, that he must resign such or such a piece of territory and all that dwell in it. After that, they do not concern him at all; but the notion that, while folk are his, they can possibly have any right as against him, is one that his brain will simply not take in. It is not so much breach of a pledge as inability to recognize that a pledge can lie in the matter.

To take another instance. The islands known as the "Dodekanese" (Rhodes and the group adjacent), have been annexed to Italy as is well known, but their inhabitants are men of Greek blood, who are members of the Orthodox Church. The Italian government is very desirous that these folk, whatever their religion, should learn to think of themselves as Italians, and for that reason it desires that Orthodox Christians, while practising their religion freely, should be organized as an autocephalous or autonomous church. The Patriarch of Constantinople did not, perhaps, welcome the idea, nor did the men concerned, but they were prepared to recognize it as a political necessity, and three of the Bishops of the islands met with the Patriarch at Khalki, off Constantinople, to discuss the position. The Patriarch was immediately ordered to return on the instant to Constantinople, and was told when there, "We gave you leave to use that building as a school. You have the impertinence to go there to do your business with these foreigners, with whom you have no business to have any relations whatever."

Under these circumstances, how can the council meet at all, anywhere? With the Turkish suspicion aroused, not only can the Patriarch not attend, he cannot even send a representative, and, as for holding the council on Turkish soil, the thing simply cannot be done. Personal freedom, under the Turk, is an empty word, and even emptier under the Republic than under the Sultanate. A well-meaning American priest once remarked to the writer, "but do you not believe that, now that Turkey is a republic, she will become civilized and western?" We fear that our reply was that we believed any miracle to be possible, but that before thinking this

IMPRESSION OF ARCHBISHOP GERMANOS OF THYATEIRA, BY MR. POWYS EVANS.

one probable, we would ask for just a few Ethiopians and leopards, who had changed their skins and spots!

One of the shrewdest minds in the Orthodox hierarchy, the present Patriarch of Alexandria, declared that the continuance of the Patriarchate at Constantinople was impossible, so long as present conditions continued in the Ottoman empire, and desired to remove it to Mt. Athos, as to an Avignon captivity. He pointed out, quite rightly, that the official description of the office is, "Archbishop of Constantinople, which is New Rome, and Œcumenical Patriarch." It would therefore be feasible for the double official personality of the Œcumenical patriarch to be divided. The Patriarch might appoint, or the electoral body (which must itself be remodelled in the new circumstances of the case) might elect, an episcopal "millet-bashi," distinct from the Patriarch. This prelate, who would have to be an Ottoman subject, would reside in Constantinople, as head of the "millet" of Greeks in the land, and might be titular Archbishop of Constantinople, and Metropolitan of such Greek Bishops as remain in Anatolia. He would represent the absent Patriarch in the Ottoman empire, while the Œcumenical Patriarch himself, still patriarch of Constantinople as much as the Pope at Avignon was still Pope of Rome, would reside elsewhere in freedom, ready to return to his lawful and ancient home when times shall mend. It would seem to one who is an earnest friend of the Orthodox body, that some such thing will have to be done, though it would have to be done regularly, and with the consent of the authorities of the various autocephalous churches, for otherwise it is not impossible that ambitious men among them might claim that that Œcumenical patriarchate, being vacant, would fall to the most important patriarch among the leaders of those autocephalous Churches. Such a claim might not be maintained, but the fact of its being made would cause trouble.

Meantime, we see how anxious a position the present one is, for those who are responsible for the guiding of the Orthodox Church in these dangerous days, and we pray that the Lord of all who is in the ship with them, may say to the waves, "peace, be still."

RUSSIA AND HER CHURCH.

A Lecture delivered at the Russian House, 27, Cromwell Road, S.W. 7, on Friday, November 27, 1926, by Mr. E. MAKHAROBLIDZE, *Secretary of the Russian Synod of Sremsky-Karlowicz, on the occasion of the Presentation by Archbishop Seraphim of an Archpriest's Pectoral Cross voted by the Synod to Canon J. A. Douglas and of Rescripts of Thanks to Father Turner, S.S.J.E., and Mr. F. Hanbury. Of course, the Editors of the "Christian East" do not take responsibility for all that* Mr. MAKHAROBLIDZE *said.*

THE SITUATION IN RUSSIA.

IN speaking of the situation in Russia, I shall touch upon neither statistics nor official reports, for you have seen plenty of them in your papers when reading about Russia. For me, as well as for many others, such data have no importance; for the present rulers of Russia, who formerly used loudly to proclaim their motto: "No secrets in politics"—have wrapped up their rule and politics in such a cloud of mystery that simple mortals cannot penetrate it. Nobody knows the real state of things in Russia. In regard to politics, economy and trade, military strategies and statistics, those few who know the facts keep their knowledge secret. It will not take a long time to prove it. Since the beginning of 1918 many men of affairs have prophesied that the bankruptcy of Bolshevism and the fall of the International would take place at any moment. Sometimes it was a counter-revolution which would destroy them; at others the desertion of the people which would weaken their army, or the lack of credit or famine which would overthrow their authority, etc., etc. But in spite of all that the Bolsheviks have already celebrated the 9th anniversary of their rule over the poor Russians!

I want to give you a glimpse at the situation in Russia, basing my picture on the account of those who escaped from its nightmare and on the letters of those who now work there for the fall of our enemy, and of sufferers, written with blood and tears. In this paper I am summing up the facts gathered from those letters and accounts. My purpose, on the one hand, is to make Russians think more about the tragedy which is going on in our country so that in unity and concord they may devise means to drag it from the paws of the "Red Beast" and—on the other hand—to give an idea to you, noble Britons, what a disaster it will be for all European culture and civilization, if this "Red Beast" is not killed, and in the name of that to make you use your influence to help the Russian sufferers, your allies in the Great War.

MORAL AND PHYSICAL STATE OF THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE IN RUSSIA.

(1.) *Moral degradation.*

In Russia, the human soul suffers the most from the lies and com-

munistic insolence, which are everywhere. The Bolsheviks have deprived the people of all liberty, and for the right of living make everybody pretend to be that which they do not desire to be. Everybody must lie. There is no trust either in family or society. People are afraid of each other, and are always full of mutual suspicion. Each avoids the other as much as possible. This moral weight is so heavy that many people, not being able to find a way out of this realm of meanness and lies, commit suicide. Indeed, suicides are very frequent among the young. Having spent all their strength in earning their bread, young people are now apathetic, dull and unable to enjoy life and to be merry; for life itself has lost for them all its value and sense.

(2.) *Appalling corruption of children.*

Bolsheviks forcibly take children into asylums and there, as well as in schools, systematically deprive them of everything which makes the difference between man and beast. They try to destroy the authority of their parents and elders over them, and suggest there are no sanctions higher than personal desire and obedience to the International. The children of Russia are corrupted in this fashion physically and morally to such a degree that even the Bolsheviks themselves are getting frightened and openly declare that it is necessary to pay attention to the question, because these corrupted children now constitute a great danger to Bolshevism itself.

Practically neither marriage nor family life continues to exist in contemporary S.S.S.R., but only concubinage. It is now normal for a man and a woman to pass a night together and part. There are some exceptions, of course, but they are rare. Many children are born, and large numbers die for lack of care and because of consistent epidemics. A Russian, naturalized in Germany, writes: "Had I not seen myself millions of stray children, uncared for, going to and fro looking for some food—forgotten potatoes, cabbages, etc.—I would never have believed it." Many such die in the street. The big towns are full of these young tramps, and an army of such outcasts is developing for the future. Certain Communists see the only way of remedy to be that these children die from starvation and epidemics.

(3.) *The Stultification of Intellectuality.*

Clerks and cultured people suffer greatly. Every clerk is obliged to pass a political examination every year in a sort of political catechism. That examination compels him to deny God and Religion, to promise never to go to church nor to baptize children, and of course, to praise the Soviet as the only desirable authority. The cultured are obliged to work so hard and so long that they have no time to think about anything but bread. They are scantily

clad, in rags, always in low spirits, and without either joy or content. They are never seen to laugh or smile. There are no books except the old "Niva" and "Vokrug Svieta." The old classics are banished and given away for cigarettes, because they describe the old life, which is held to be hateful to the proletarian soul. New literature is very limited and so pornographic and obscene that it is impossible to read it. There are no books but manual and political literature.

Many people have to sell their personal possessions to buy bread or perish if they have nothing to sell. A public job with a living wage is reserved for those who belong to the Communist Party, and for the cultured, work of any sort is almost impossible to get. It is also very hard for them to get private work, because there is a law that no one can have such except with the recommendation of his "professional union" and this union can give a recommendation only to members of the Communist party. So the rest must starve. Many die of consumption, which yearly kills more people than war ever did.

(4.) *Physical Contamination and Disease.*

Lues veneria is the chief disease which is destroying the health of the people. Whole towns and villages are infected with it, and the army almost to a man. Almost 50 per cent. of the population are affected, and there is practically no medical assistance.

When the old social organizations were destroyed, the medical organization perished also, so that the general health of the people is in a truly critical state. Those medical men who still remain excite the jealousy of the terrorists and perish one by one. So the Russian peasants, there being no influence of cultured classes to permeate them, are gradually becoming savage and degenerate.

(5.) *Destruction of Education.*

Religious schools are closed down and only from August, 1924, have priests been allowed to teach the Law of God, and that only to groups of not more than ten persons over 18 years old. Religious libraries are sent to the archives or more often sold for packing materials. Only the members of the Communist party are admitted to the high schools. Others must pay 33 golden roubles a month, which makes their education practically prohibitive, as no one can pay such money. All children and grandchildren of former officers and clergymen are excluded from such schools. Most of the students are Jews. The French language was strictly forbidden till 1924, only German being permitted. Now both are allowed.

In general, public education is in a very miserable condition. The actual teaching in the Soviet schools is altogether unorganized, and ignorance and indolence are fostered in them in many ways.

The Bolsheviks' purpose is to reduce the Russians to be cattle, obedient to their whip. As a mockery of common sense, in many towns there are semblances of the Universities, called V.C.N.O. (high school of public education) where lectures are delivered by ex-professors in accordance with the curricula of the " proletarian science " of Lunatcharksy. These are attended by peasant lads, workmen, etc., who have no propædeutics, and are absolutely unable to understand anything in them, and generally sleep while their professors teach. Their raw, uncultured brains cannot grasp even " proletarian science."

EXTERIOR AND ECONOMICAL SITUATION.

Industry is but a symbol of the internal life. In the military works half of the workmen are German. The raw materials are Russian, but the specialized workers are German, so the latter take half of the proceeds. In every undertaking Jews are predominant. They are now colonizing the South of Russia, whence the Russian peasantry is being forcibly transported to the North and to Siberia to make room for them. In consequence, heart-rending scenes are of frequent observation.

The Army looks quite smart in appearance. It was in 1924 that it first began to be well clothed and well fed. New officers are everywhere, the old being left only as specialists. Discipline is very severe, but the army cannot fight for want of war materials. Whatever is done, is done to deceive the eyes of foreigners. The army hates the Jews and does not want to listen about War. In 1923, there was a general decision through all Russia: " Down with War." Soldiers going home say openly: " If they only send us to War, we shall show against whom we will fight, for they would have to give us arms." But they are drilled with wooden dummies. The Communist régime is upheld not by Russian, but by foreign troops—German, Hungarian, Chinese, Latvians (Latishi), etc. The Communists do everything in their power to make these comfortable and satisfied, for they are their only real support. Theatres and restaurants are full of Communists, their wives and mistresses in costly dresses, gold and diamonds, but all the other Russians are in rags, and are dull, starved, timid and utterly miserable. One and all sincerely hate the apostate Jews, who are the principal authors of Russian misery.

LEGAL RIGHTS.

The right to life and happiness is claimed to belong only to Communists; all others being outlanders, outcasts. The peasants are there to obey and to die of starvation. A repatriant has no right whatever for four years, is obliged to call at the police office every

month, and in the case of a strike or such-like occurrence in his district, is the first to pay the penalty with his head. Those who are recognized as combatants in the civil war are done to death immediately. The people are very unsympathetic to the repatriants, because they have not borne the trial to the end and fled before the Communists. The refugees abroad are greatly pitied and sympathized with and envied, because they are looked upon as privileged people who will some day give back to Russia what she has lost—truth, honesty, religion and holiness, and the true Russian soul which is now banished from Russia.

The Bolsheviks describe our life abroad truthfully enough—our sufferings and poverty—and warn everybody against going abroad. Permissions to do so are given only periodically and depend on the internal state of the country.

Legally, the position of the clergy is the worst of any class in Russia. Not only clergymen, but their children and grandchildren, are deprived of all civil rights. All students whose fathers or grandfathers were clerical or military are excluded from the schools. The Communists do not shoot priests and laity openly now as before, but they torture them in the Tcheka gaols, and it happens very often that a clergyman disappears suddenly. Afterwards it becomes known that he is transported to some far-away place.

Priests must be supported by their parishioners, but the parishioners are often prohibited from going to church, although the religious tax is taken from their priest and church. None the less, more people have gone to church during the last few years than in the early days of the Revolution, and the life of the clergy is a trifle better.

WHAT WILL BE THE END OF THIS NIGHTMARE?

Till 1924, the people were occupied only with the worry of how and where to get something to eat. Nowadays, life has become a trifle easier, and they begin to think about getting rid of the Bolsheviks. As all the principal posts are held by Jews who mock at everything Russian, religious or holy, so the people have come to hate them. The Jews know that and many are trying to escape abroad in fear of the people recovering their liberty. The Bolsheviks openly revile the late Emperor, but the peasants answer: "Still, it was better under Nicholas." Among the "Komsomols" (youths) there has arisen a party of real Knights, whose ideals are: Faith in God, honesty, morality and the defence of women and the weak. The Churches have been full since 1923. In the streets and carriages people openly criticize the Bolsheviks, who are hated by everybody except themselves.

The political outlook of the people is as yet uncertain, for there has been no time to think out the position. Up to the present the one thing pressing has been to save one's life and earn one's bread. Even to converse was dangerous. The common people regrets the past and dreams about the days of the Tzar; but men are tired of fighting and would prefer to be freed by help from abroad. None the less, some of them labour hard for this purpose inside the country. In Russia the general public is certain that the Bolsheviks must perish soon, if only foreign countries do not help them with money or otherwise. Lately there have been unceasing quarrels and discord among the Communists. It appears probable that the Bolsheviks will be constrained to reconstruct the old external side of the nation's life before they perish themselves. After that, the people, helped by the emigrés will create the inner life. Hence the great necessity for our paying keen attention to the moral education of the young Russian exiles. Russia needs truth, honesty and religious idealism.

The true Russian Orthodox people have rallied round the Orthodox Church and her priests as their centre. In the Church of God they see the salvation not only of their souls but of their physical well-being. And in that is to be found the reason why the Bolsheviks are set to destroy the Church of Russia and her Faith, and to demoralize her pastors. Everybody who helps the Russian Orthodox Church and her priests in Russia and abroad, helps the Russian people. All this leads to the question: What is the position of the Orthodox Church in Russia?

THE POSITION OF THE RUSSIAN CHURCH ABROAD.

Having described the position of our Church in Russia, I cannot help but say a few words about our Church abroad, which is free of the Bolsheviks' yoke, and is her own mistress.

The Russian Church abroad is spread over the whole world. It consists of a number of episcopates in Europe, North America, Clerical Missions in Corea, Jerusalem and Church parishes (communities) in Africa, Australia and S. America.

Our Church abroad has 35 bishops, including 3 Metropolitans and 10 Archbishops, the rest being only Bishops. These are all united in the Council of Russian Bishops abroad, the executive organ of which is the Synod of Bishops which sits continuously at Sremsky-Karlowicz in Serbia and is elected by it.

The Council of Bishops itself is summoned every year in order to take decisions upon all questions which concern both the Church in general and the Church abroad in particular. All the 35 Bishops take part in these Councils. Some attend personally and others, owing to the great distance making it impossible for them to travel to it, send letters with their opinions upon the matters in the agenda

of the Council, which are sent to them beforehand by the Synod of Bishops.

The same method of reaching conciliar decision is practised in Russia in our real Orthodox Church.

The Council of Bishops and the Synod of Bishops are both presided over by their senior hierarch, the Metropolitan Anthony. "Tserkovnia Viedemosti," is published at the Synod as its official magazine. For the education and training of the clergy, the Russian Church Abroad has Theological Seminaries in America and in Japan as well as clerical theological schools; our Theological Institute in Paris is very well known to you. There are others in Bulgaria, at the monastery of St. Kirike and in Harbin. With the approval of the Serbian Patriarch and the blessing of the Russian Synod of Bishops, such a school has recently been opened in Serbia in the town of Belaya Tserkov. There are also Church Parish Schools for religious and moral instruction of children and for the bringing them up according to the spirit of the Orthodox Faith, in the many Churches of the American, Japanese, Chinese and Kharbin-Mandjourian episcopates.

With God's help and with the sympathetic attitude of the countries in which our Churches are, the Russian Church abroad is developing its activity as far as its meagre means permit, and I feel that I must point out its successes even among the heathen. For instance, in Japan there is now an average of 420-530 baptisms of heathens every year, and in China, a little fewer. One can affirm with confidence that there is no place in the world where the Russians, led in unity by their priests, do not glorify God according to the custom of their Church. In almost every one of our Churches outside Russia, priests are busy teaching God's Word to the Russian children of the local schools, if they are not taught it in them. Orthodox Instruction in God's Word is given better, however, in Serbia in the three Serbian military colleges, three colleges for girls and six civil colleges, than in our Russian Schools in Europe.

In 1925 the Synod of Bishops succeeded in defending our clerical mission in China and its property against the attempted usurpation of the Soviet authority. The Chinese court refused the claim of the Bolsheviks. At the present time the Synod of Bishops is making efforts to recover the property of the Russian Church in New York from the representative of the Living Church to whom the decision of the State of New York assigned it. The required documents have been sent by the Synod of Bishops to the American Federativxe Court. The case will be re-examined on the ground of these documents, with which Canon Douglas has helped greatly to provide us, and there exists every hope that this Church property will be recovered from the pseudo-Metropolitan Kedrovsky, the

creature of the Bolsheviks, and will be returned to the lawful head of the Russian N. American Episcopate, the Metropolitan Platon.

I cannot rightly be silent to you about the material needs of our Church abroad, which is supported principally by the meagre revenue of the offerings of our people, who give generously and with great devotion and self-denial out of their extreme poverty.

The support of the clerical-theological schools in Bulgaria and Serbia, the payments of the religious-moral needs of the Russian colonies scattered over the whole world, the equipping of the poorer churches with the necessary ornaments anl prayer books, financial support of those in dire need, as also of our bishops and clergy and especially of those who have come to us recently from Russia, the cost of the defence of our property against the Bolsheviks before different courts—all these necessities require large sums of money, which, though we do our best, and beyond our best, we are unable to find.

I take this opportunity of acknowledging our heart-felt and undying gratitude to those of you who help us.

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If any of the readers of the Christian East are moved to help the Russian Church Abroad financially, donations are received and enquiries answered by the Rev. H. J. Fynes Clinton, Secretary of the Russian Clergy Appeal Fund, 8, Finsbury Square, E.C.2.

J.A.D.

THE GREAT SCHISM IN THE RUSSIAN CHURCH AND THE PROTOPOPE AVVAKUM—NON-CONFORMIST AND MARTYR.

By Mrs. Sonia E. Howe.

II

After eight years of such faithful ministry during which the number of his spiritual children had grown enormously, he was appointed Dean of the Cathedral of Yurievets on the Volga. He travelled much about, "preaching and teaching the word of God," and healing many by his prayers. From far and wide those supposed to be possessed by evil spirits were brought to him, and invariably the prayer of faith was answered.

At last he was able to live permanently at Moscow where he soon became an influential member of the circle of zealous Cathedral clergy. After the Patriarch Nikon, however, had issued his orders which changed the ritual, Avvakum boldly stepped forward and denounced the Patriarch from the pulpit.

It seemed almost a hopeless task to bring about an understanding between the leaders of the two parties, and on one occasion after one of these heated arguments, the learned Polotski is reported to have said about Avvakum: "He has a great natural intelligence but no understanding whatever of science," while Avvakum pointed out the impossibility of coming to any agreement, saying: "He looks to find wisdom in intellectual controversy, I seek it in tears and with prayers at the feet of Christ." The result was that persecution and suffering were henceforth Avvakum's lot. It is from Memoirs of this fearless priest that a picture of his experiences can be gleaned. These Memoirs are typical of this kind of Russian literature, differing totally from the purely scholastic writings of his days. They are the prototype of Russian Memoirs, free from all sensationalism; they are simple and sincere and the strong and humble soul of the born fighter shines through the quaint wording of this remarkable document.

"After this *our friend Nikon* was sent for from Solovsk by the Bishop Philip, and before his arrival Stephan, the Tsar's Confessor, prayed to God and fasted with the brethren. And I, too, prayed to God that a Patriarch, a Shepherd, might be given us for the salvation of our souls. The Bishop of Kazan and I wrote and signed a petition which we presented to the Tsar and Tsaritsa, begging that Stephan be made Patriarch, but he did not desire

this and suggested in his place the Bishop Nikon. The Tsar followed his advice and sent a letter to greet the Bishop on his way, which said: 'Most Eminent Bishop Nikon, Novgorod and Velikolutsk and the whole of Russia is rejoicing' and so on. When Nikon arrived, like a fox in his cunning he was pleasant to everyone, for, knowing that he was to be made Patriarch, he did not desire anything to stand in his way, but as soon as he became Patriarch he would not allow his friends to come into the vestry. A great deal was talked about these intrigues.

In Lent he sent an order to the Bishop of Kazan, John Neronov. John Neronov was my confessor, I lived with him so that if he absented himself I should know all about his Church. I had been promised the place of the late Silino at the Court about Spasov Day, but God did not let it come to pass. This did not grieve me, for it was well with me with the Bishop of Kazan. I used to read to the people, many of whom came to visit us. Nikon's order gave the day and year, and it contained the following words: 'According to the traditions of the Apostles and Holy Fathers it is not fitting to go down on the knees and prostrate yourself on the ground, but to bow from the waist and cross yourself with three fingers." We gathered together and reflected over this. It seemed that winter had descended upon us, and the heart grew cold and the legs trembled. Neronov left me in charge of the Church and withdrew to Chudovo for a week, where he prayed in a cell and there during his prayers a voice from the ikon spoke to him, saying: 'A time of sorrow has come upon you and many are the sufferings you will have to endure.' With tears in his eyes he told me this, and also to the Bishop Paul of Kolomensk, who was later burned at the stake by Nikon in Novgorod, and the Protopope Daniel of Kostromsk and to all the brotherhood. With Daniel's aid we copied out everything from the books relating to the composition of the fingers and to prostration and presented it to the Sovereign. We had written a great deal. He concealed our documents—we do not know where—but we think he gave them to Nikon. Soon after Nikon had Daniel seized in the Monastery by the Tversky Gate, and in the presence of the Tsar, he had his head shriven and his coarse gown torn from him, and he abused him and had him put in the bakehouse at Chudovo where he underwent many tortures and was afterwards sent to Astrakan. There a crown of thorns was put on him and he was thrust into a dungeon, where he was killed. After Daniel's having been shriven another Daniel was seized, the Protopope of Temnikov, and he was put into the new monastery of Our Saviour. And thus it happened with the Protopope Neronov Ivan; his cowl was taken off in the church and he was put in the Simionov Monastery and afterwards sent to Vologda and from thence to the Spasov-Kameny Monastery, then to the Kolsky

Island, where after much suffering, the poor man fell ill, adopted the three fingers and died. What sorrow indeed! Each tries to observe the right and not to fall, but we have come on evil times; for as the Lord Himself hath said, it is possible for the spirit of Antichrist to tempt even the chosen. It behoves us to pray unceasingly to God and he will save us and have mercy upon us in His boundless mercy.

I was seized, too, by Boris Melodinsky and his archers when at Mass; about fifty of the brethren were taken with me, who were cast into prison, while I was brought to the Patriarch's palace and put into chains for the night. The dawn had scarcely broken when I was put into a cart and my hands were manacled and I was driven away from the Patriarch's palace to the Andronov Monastery, where I was put in chains into a dark cell; I sank to the ground and sat there for three days, taking neither food nor drink, and I sat in the darkness, bent over the chains, not knowing where was the East or the West. No one came to me but the mice and the cockroaches and crickets and bugs, of which there were a great many. I had been confined for three days and was terribly hungry when, about Vesper time, there appeared before me man or angel—to this day I do not know which—and I murmured a prayer in the darkness, and the Being put his hand on my shoulder and led me to the bench, chained as I was and sat me down and put a spoon into my hand and gave me a little bread and soup which tasted uncommonly good, and he said to me: 'It is enough to strengthen thee,' and he disappeared, though the door did not open. Had he been a man this would have been amazing, but for an angel there was nothing to wonder at, for there are no bolts and bars to them. In the morning the Archimandrite came with the brethren and took me out. They rebuked me for not having submitted to the Patriarch, while I abused the Patriarch's writings. They took the big chain off me and put on a smaller one and the Archimandrite ordered the monks to drag me into the church. And in the church they pulled me by the hair and struck me in the sides and tugged at my chain and spat in my face. God forgive them in this world and the next! It is not their fault, but the doings of Satan the Wily. I stayed there for four weeks.

After this I was again led on foot to the Patriarch's palace, my hands in manacles, and again they argued with me. And on the Feast of Nikitin, during the procession of crosses, they had me brought out in a cart and placed against the crosses. And they led me to the Cathedral to be shriven and they kept me at the door during the whole of Mass, which lasted a long time. The Tsar got up from his seat and approached the Patriarch and asked him not to have me shriven, and I was taken to the Siberian Order and given over to the deacon Tretiak Bashmatov (Father Savaty) who

is suffering for Christ to this day in a dungeon in the new Monastery of Our Saviour.

I experienced nothing but kindness from Father Savaty—God save his soul! And I was sent to Siberia with my wife and children, and so great was our need on the way that words cannot describe even the smallest part of our privations. My wife gave birth to a child in the cart and was taken in that condition to Tobolsk, a distance of three thousand versts, which we covered in thirteen weeks, in jolting carts and across rivers and half the way in sledges.

The Archbishop of Tobolsk found me a place. Here in the church great sorrows fell upon me. After a year and a half had gone by, a few words were said to the Sovereign about me and the deacon of the Archbishop's palace, a certain Ivan Struna, stirred my very soul. When the Archbishop went away to Moscow, in his absence, at the instigation of the Devil, Ivan Struna attacked me and wanted to torture my deacon Anton. But Anton escaped from him and took refuge with me in the church. Ivan Struna gathered together a crowd and came to the church that same day while I was chanting Vespers and he rushed in and seized Anton by the beard from where he stood with the choir. At the same moment I shut and bolted the church door and would not allow anyone in; Ivan Struna tore about like a demon and I, with Anton's help, sat him down on the floor in the middle of the church, and for church disturbance I flogged him well with a stout strap, and the crowd which had come with him—about twenty men in all—ran away as though they were chased by the Holy Ghost. And having received Struna's confession I let him go home. Struna's kinsfolk and the priests and monks tried to incite the town against me. And at midnight they brought a sledge into my yard and, breaking into my cottage, they would have seized me and taken me to the water, but the fear of God came upon them and they turned back. For a whole month they tormented me and I escaped secretly, spending the night sometimes in a church, sometimes with the Governor of a town; sometimes I asked to be allowed into a prison and sometimes I was refused . . .

After this an edict came, in which I was ordered to be taken from Tobolsk to Lena for having ignored Nikon's commands and accused him of heresy. At the same time a letter came from Moscow saying that two brothers who had lived with the Tsaritsa had both died of the plague with their wives and children, many friends and relatives. The vessel of the Lord's wrath was overflowing. There was no greater sorrow in the world than to have the Church trampled upon. Neronov said at that time to the Tsar, 'There are three ways of suffering for Church dissension, the plague, the sword and schism.' That is what has happened in our

day, but God is merciful; he teaches us for the sake of repentance and takes pity on us, and dispels the maladies of our souls and bodies and gives us peace. I have faith and hope in Christ; I await his mercy and hope for the resurrection of the dead.

And I got into a boat and went to Lena, as I stated above. And as soon as I arrived in Eniseisk, another edict came, in which I was ordered to be sent to Dauria—twenty thousand versts and more from Moscow—where I was to be given up to Afanas Pashkov and his troops. He had about six hundred men with him and, as a punishment for my sins, they were cruel men, who burnt and tortured and killed human beings. I tried to dissuade Afanas Pashkov from these ways, but I came in for my own, too, for Nikon, from Moscow, had instructed them to torture me. As soon as I left Eniseisk and came out on the big river Tungusk, a high wind arose and my raft was immersed in the water and the sails were torn away and we were nearly drowned. My wife on the deck pulled the children out of the water as best she could, bareheaded as she was, and I raised my eyes to Heaven and cried: "Save us, O Lord! save us!" And by God's will we reached the bank. In another raft two men were blown off and drowned. After we had reached the bank we started on our way again. When we came to the Shamansky rapids some other people in a boat came towards us and with them were two widows—one was sixty years old, the other older still—they were both on their way to a convent. And Pashkov tried to recover them and wanted to make them marry, and I said to him: 'According to the laws it is not fitting to make such women marry.' And instead of acting upon my words and letting the widows go, in his anger he bethought himself to have me tortured.

At the Dolgy rapids the people tried to take my raft from me. 'A raft is too good for you, you heretic,' they said; 'you can walk over the mountains, but you must not go to the Cossacks.' What new sorrows in store for us! The mountains were high and covered with trackless forests and the steep cliffs were like walls of stone; to look at them alone made one's head go round. And on those mountains were large snakes and wild ducks and geese with red feathers and black crows and grey daws; and there were eagles and hawks and gerfalcons and Indian fowls and pelicans and wild swans and many other different kinds of birds. And wild beasts roamed those mountains—wild goats and deer and ures and elks and boars and wolves and wild rams, the like of which the eyes have not beheld.

It was to these mountains with the beasts and the birds that Pashkov wanted to banish me. And I sent him a letter beginning thus: 'Take the fear of God to your heart, man; all living creatures, including man, fear Him and His Divine Power as He

sits enthroned among His cherubs, contemplating the depths, but you alone despise and ignore Him,' and so on. It was a long letter that I sent him. And then about fifty men rushed up to me, took my raft and hastened to Pashkov, three versts away; and I remained where I was, and I made some porridge for the Cossacks, and fed them and they ate—the poor hungry things—in fear and trembling. Some looked at me with tears in their eyes, for they pitied me. Pashkov's men brought back the raft; the executioners took me and brought me before him. He was leaning on his sword, trembling; and he began to speak to me: 'Are you a priest or ex-priest?' And I replied: 'I am Avvakum, a protopope; what do you want of me?'

He roared like a wild beast and struck me on one cheek, then on the other, and on the head, until he knocked me off my feet, and seizing a chain he struck me on the back three times. When I was lying prone and bruised as my back was, he had it lashed seventy-two times with a whip. And I said: 'Lord, Jesus Christ, Son of God, help me!' And I repeated this many times, and he was so embittered that I did not say 'Have mercy on me.' At each lash of the whip I murmured a prayer and I cried out to him, 'Have you not beaten me enough?' And he ordered them to stop. And I said to him: 'Why do you beat me so?' And he ordered me to be beaten again on the sides, and the whip was brought down on them, and I shuddered and fell, and again he ordered me to be dragged to the raft and I was flung on it, my hands and feet bound.

It was Autumn and the whole night I lay, the rain pouring down on me. When I prayed during the flogging I did not feel the pain so much, but, as I lay there, the thought crept into my mind: 'Why hast Thou permitted me to be thus ill-treated, O Son of God? Was it not for Thy widows I interceded? What man shall judge between me and Thee? When I had faith Thou didst not wound me; and I have not sinned now.' It was as though some horrible Pharisee had set himself up in judgment against the Lord! Did not Job cry out that he was righteous and sinless? And Job had no knowledge of the Scriptures outside God's law in a barbarous land, he knew God only through His creatures. But I am a greater sinner than Job, for I know and fortify myself with the Scriptures, 'that we must through much tribulation enter into the Kingdom of God.'

Ah me! If only the raft were to sink with me below the water! My bones began to ache, my inside to gnaw, my heart to beat violently one moment and the next almost ceased to beat. I felt I was dying; the water splashed into my mouth. I sighed and repented before the Lord our God, who is merciful to us on the earth and forgives our past sins for the sake of repentance; and once more all pain left me.

The next morning I was flung into a boat and taken down the river. And we came to the rapids of the river Padun, which was no less than a verst wide in that place and had three gulfs with steep banks; and we sailed along through the gates, hitting against pieces of wood. I was taken beneath the rapids. Above was rain and snow, and I had only a light coat thrown over my shoulders. The rain beat against my back and belly; the discomfort was very great. They pulled me out of the boat and dragged me over the stones of the rapids, chained as I was. It was an hour of sorrow, but there was peace in my soul; I no longer reviled against God. The words of the Prophet and Apostle came into my mind: 'My son, despise not thou the chastening of the Lord, nor faint when thou art rebuked of Him. For whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth. If ye endure chastening, God dealeth with you as with sons; for what son is he whom the father chasteneth not? But if ye be without chastisement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards and not sons.'

I consoled myself with these words. After this I was taken to the Bratsky Island and thrust into prison and given a bed of straw. I sat there, until the feast of Philip, in a cold tower, but God kept me warm without clothes. I lay on the straw like a dog: if they gave me food I ate it, if not, I went hungry. Rats were swarming all round. I killed them with my cowl, for the fools would not give me a stick. I lay on my stomach all the time, for my back was rotting. I wanted to cry to Pashkov: 'Have mercy on me' but the will of God chided me and bade me endure.

I was moved to a warm hut, where I stayed for the rest of the winter in chains with the hostages and the dogs. My wife and children were sent away about twenty miles from me. The baby, Ksenia, worried her the whole winter and whined and cried. My son Ivan was not big yet; he came to see me after Christmas and Pashkov ordered him to be put into a cold prison. The dear boy stayed there a night and was nearly frozen to death, when in the morning he was pushed out and told to go back to his mother. I did not see him. He dragged himself back to his mother, his hands and feet frost-bitten.

When the spring came they moved me on again. There were not many places left, and first they robbed me of everything—books, clothes, utensils; only a few of these were left to me. On the Baikalov Sea we again foundered; on the Shilka River they made me work hard, for it was necessary to get the boat along, and there was neither time to eat nor to sleep. The whole summer I suffered from dropsy and my feet and stomach were blue. Two summers we wandered over the water and in the winter we tramped through the forests. On the Shilka River for the third time I foun-

dered; the barque was torn away from the bank and I with it. My wife and children remained on the bank, and the pilot and I were carried off. The fast-flowing water tossed the barque this way and that and I crawled about it, crying: 'O Lord, help me! Do not let me drown!' one leg in the water, the other aloft. We were borne along like that for a verst or more until some people came to our aid. Everything was soaked down to the grain. What could one do when Christ and the Holy Mother willed it so? I came out of the water laughing and the people were shedding tears. I hung my garments on the bushes to dry, coats of silk and satin and a few other useless things; those remaining in the trunks and bundles rotted where they lay. And again Pashkov wanted to have me flogged. And again I beseeched light from the Holy Mother. 'Holy Mother, enlighten the mind of the fool!' And as hope was taken from me I began to grieve.

Then we got as far as the Lake of Irgeya and we tramped through the forest there in the winter. My labourers were taken from me and to hire others was forbidden to me, and the children were small and there were many mouths to feed and no one to do the work; alone a wretched protopope made a sledge and went through the forest. In the spring we went down the River Ingod on a barge—the fourth summer I had spent on the water since Tobolsk. We passed forests and churches and houses and there was nothing to eat and our people began to die of hunger and from the exhaustion of the difficult voyage. The river was narrow, the barge was heavy, the commissioners were ungracious, the sticks were thick, the cudgels knotty, the whips cutting, the tortures cruel—fire and tossing—our people were starving; as soon as they left off torturing them, they died. Dear me, what a time it was! I know not how it was I kept my reason.

We had a little black hen who used to lay two eggs a day, by God's will, to help us in our need. God ordained it thus. It was killed unfortunately, carrying it on the sledge as we did. I feel sorry for that little hen when I think of it to this day. It was nothing short of a miracle—two eggs every day for the whole of a year. It was worth a hundred roubles to us at least. Poor little creature! It nourished us, endowed with a soul by God. It used to peck fine porridge from the same pot we ate out of, and when we had fish it pecked at the fish, too. And in return it gave us two eggs a day. Glory be unto God from whom all blessings flow . . .

My wife had a long Moscow coat, the only one that had not rotted, which was worth about twenty-five roubles at least. We exchanged it for four bags of rye and dragged on for another year, living on the River Nercha on the rye mixed with grass. All our people were starving; they were not allowed to work anywhere and

they had no place to rest, and they wandered over the steppes, eating grass and roots, and we with them. And in winter we ate pine leaves and horseflesh, if we were lucky enough to find the remains of a horse, left by a wolf or some other wild beast; and some of us even ate wolves and foxes and any horrible thing that came to our hand. Should a mare foal, the starving people would devour both the foal and the unclean after-birth in secret. Had Pashkov heard of it, he would have had us flogged to death. What a time it was! Two of my sons died in those days of want, and the rest, poor things, naked and barefooted, tramped over the mountains and rough stones, keeping body and soul together with roots and grass. And as for me—sinner that I am—I, too, was forced to eat horseflesh, and dead birds and other horrible things. Alas, my sinful soul! Shall I be given tears enough to shed in repentance for my poor soul besmirched by my worldly senses? We were helped in the name of Christ by the daughter-in-law of the Governor Evdokia Kirilovna, and the Governor's wife Fekla Semionovna. Without the Governor's knowledge they would sometimes send a piece of meat, sometimes bread or flour or oats and sometimes the food from the fowls. My poor little daughter, Agrafena used to steal under her window and wait. It was both sad and amusing! Sometimes the child would be driven away without the lady's knowledge and sometimes she would come back with some morsel. She was quite small then; she is twenty-seven now; with her younger sisters the poor girl drags out a weary existence in Mezen, while her mother and brothers are buried in the earth. What can one do? Let all suffer sorrow for the Christ's sake, and with the help of God let all suffer torments for the Christian faith. The protopope liked to be counted among the blessed, let him likewise endure the bitterness to the end. As it is written, 'Do not begin blessings but finish them.' But enough of this—let us turn back . . .

. . . And they also brought me women possessed by the Devil. According to my usual custom I fasted and would not allow them to eat; I prayed and anointed them with oil and acted as I knew how, and the women recovered their reason and grew sound in body and mind; I heard their confession and gave them communion. They remained with me, praying God; they loved me and would not go home.

Pashkov learned that I had spiritual daughters, and his wrath against me rose more than before and he wanted to have me burned. 'You have wormed out my secrets!' How can you give communion without confession? And you must never give communion to one possessed of the devil, until the devil has been completely driven out. The devil is not a peasant; he does not fear a stick, but he fears the Cross of Jesus, and the holy water and conse-

crated oil and he flies from the body of Christ. I know of no other mysteries with which to cure the mind; in our Orthodox faith I cannot give communion without confession. In the Roman faith they neglect the confession, but we of the Orthodox faith cannot act thus; we must seek penitence on every occasion. If you cannot get a priest, then confess your sins to one of your own kind and God will forgive them, seeing your penitence; then take Holy Communion, holding before you the symbol of the Lamb of God. If you are travelling or at your work, or anywhere where you cannot get to a church, sigh before the Lord, then, as stated above, confess to your mate and with a clean conscience receive the sacrament fasting or according to the rules—then it will be well. Spread a cloth over a box and light a candle and then put a little water in a vessel, and take a little of the water in a spoon and put a part of the body of Christ in the spoon with a prayer, then wave the incense over it and, weeping, repeat the whole prayer, 'I believe, Lord and confess, for you are Christ the Son of God.' (It is written in the rite of communion). Then, dropping down on the floor before the ikon, beg forgiveness and, when rising, kiss the ikon; cross yourself and receive the sacrament with a prayer, drink of the water, and pray to God once more, 'Glory to God.' Even should you die after that it would be well with you. But why talk of that? You know yourselves how well it would be . . . "

After Avvakum had been in exile for seven years, orders came to the Governor to send him back to Russia. The reason for this order was unknown to Avvakum, but he buoyed himself up with the hope that it betokened the triumph of his party and the re-establishment of the Old Faith.

As a matter of fact, the Tsar who had always had a soft spot in his heart for the brave Protopope, had at last yielded to the pleading of the Boyars to have him recalled, in spite of the opposition of the Patriarch. It was, perhaps, not so much for his own benefit that they were anxious to have him brought back to Moscow, but rather because they wanted him to help them in opposing Nikon, whose arrogant claims to practically unlimited power irritated the Boyars past all bearing. The Patriarch's fall was imminent and was for the most part brought about by his arrogant behaviour towards the Boyars and even towards the Tsar. Had Alexei Mikhailovitch been of a less gentle nature, the friendship between him and the powerful co-ruler—for such the Patriarch was *de facto*—would long ago have come to an end. Nikon's enemies made use of the strained relations between Tsar and Patriarch which had gradually developed. They accused him of ecclesiastical misdemeanours, and at the Council which was called to try his case and at which ecclesiastics even of the Eastern Church were present—he was condemned and banished.

Avvakum found only too soon that his hopes were unfounded, for as he came to the Russian towns, he found to his dismay that the party of Nikon was still in power, although his great opponent himself was in disgrace. Avvakum was now sorely perplexed as to what should be his future course of action and in his distress he turned to his faithful helpmeet for guidance. To use his own words: "Then I came to Russian towns and comprehended that nothing had advanced in the Church and that all was in confusion. I fell into a state of melancholy, wondering whether I should preach the word of God or keep in hiding. My wife and children hampered me. And, observing my melancholy, my wife approached me and said, 'Why are you sad, sir?' And I spoke to her plainly. 'What shall I do, wife?' I asked. 'We have lived through a winter of heresy; tell me, shall I speak or hold my peace?' And she said, 'The Lord have mercy on us! What is it you are saying, Petrovitch! Have I not heard you read the words of the Apostle: My blessing and the blessings of the children be upon you. Preach the word of God as heretofore, for as long as God wills, and do not worry about us. Remember us in your prayers. Christ is merciful and will not forsake us. Go to the churches, Petrovitch, and expose the erring heretics.' I bowed down to her for these words and, shaking off the melancholy that blinded my sight, I began to preach the word of God in the towns and villages, boldly exposing Nikon."

It was, indeed, a tremendous uplift for Avvakum to be thus encouraged by his wife who was ever ready to stand by him in time of trouble; indeed, he always looked upon her zeal for the faith and her moral courage as answer to the prayer he had offered up to God for a suitable wife, before ever he had met her.

Fearlessly he began again to preach for the Faith against error, and the burning words of the zealous Apostle found their way to many a heart. The number of his followers, all of whom declared themselves willing to suffer as he had suffered, increased enormously and, by the time he arrived in Moscow, his name had become a household word.

"I spent the winter in Eniseisk," he writes. "I sailed down the river again in the summer, and the following winter I spent in Tobolsk. And I came as far as Moscow, preaching the word of God in every town and village on my way—crying out in every church and market place against the godless form of worship."

(To be continued.)

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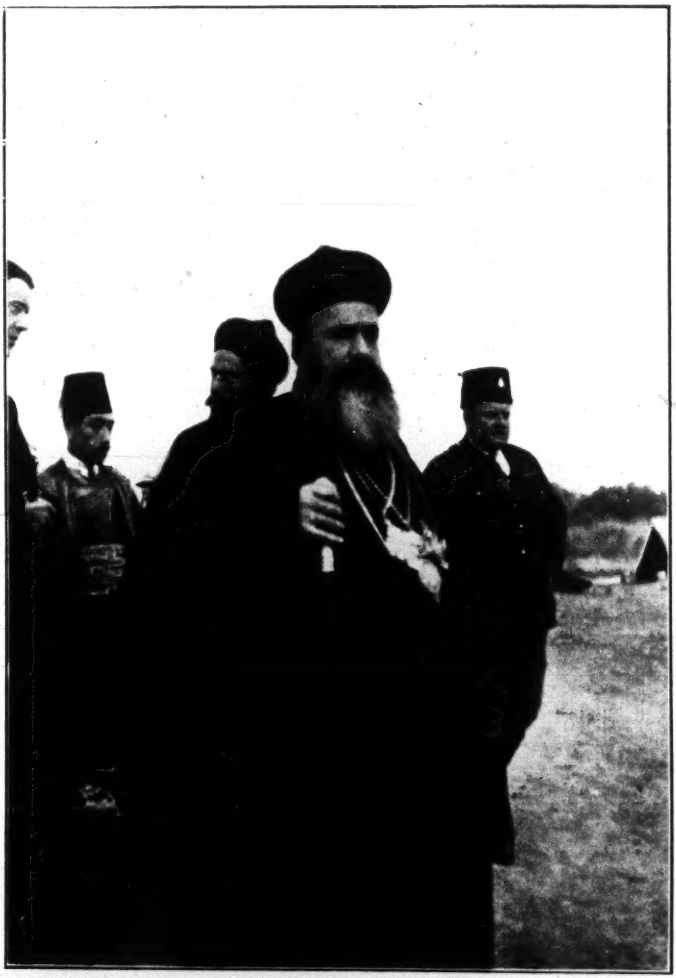

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